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Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism

JEREMY PENNER

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By

Jeremy Penner

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Leuven, June 2012

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

The abbreviations for all journals, series, and texts are taken from Patrick H. Alexander et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999).

INTRODUCTION

In Judaism, there are fundamentally two ways of praying.[1] The first, which is common across many cultures, is prayer that is characterized by spontaneity and performed according to the will, emotion, and particular circumstances of the one praying. This kind of prayer is not premeditated and restricted to formulated words and prescribed times. The second is markedly different. It is prayer governed by formality and ritual rather than spontaneity; the language, the manner in which one ought to pray, and the time of prayer are fixed in an attempt to regulate or ritualize in some way the religious experience of praying to the divine, and to transform continually and regularly the worshipper's perspective to the liturgical worldview.[2]

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[1] In this study I define prayer as an address to God (or perhaps another being), who is perceived "as somehow supporting, maintaining, or controlling the order of existence of the one praying, and performed with the purpose of getting results from or in the interaction of communication." Quote from B. Malina, "What is Prayer?" *TBT* 18 (1980): 215. See also Z. Crook, "Constructing a Model of Ancient Prayer," in *In Other Words: Essays on Social Science Methods and the New Testament in Honor of Jerome H. Neyrey* (ed. A. Hagedom, Z. Crook, and E. Stewart; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 48–66; J. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999), 5–7. F. Heiler defines prayer as "a living communion of the religious man with God" (in, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion* [trans. S. McComb; London: Oxford University Press, 1938], 358; cf. also 353–63). See also the discussion in S. D. Gil, "Prayer," in *ER* 11:489–94.

"Fixed daily prayer" is prayer that is performed as a ritual within a daily schedule. One could invariably discuss and define ritual, but for the purposes of this study the definition given by Catherine Bell is sufficient. Ritual is "a matter of various culturally specific strategies for setting some activities off from others, for creating and privileging a qualitative distinction between the 'sacred' and the 'profane,' and for ascribing such distinctions to realities that transcend through the powers of human actors." See C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 74; eadem, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 80–3.

[2] When fixed prayer transcends one's personal life and enters into the public domain and becomes a practice of the community at large it is appropriate to call such an activity a "liturgy" (λαός+ἔργον). Liturgy can take place in a variety of different settings both public and private if the community has agreed upon the performance aspects of the liturgy (i.e. the words to be recited, time of recitation, etc.). For a similar definition, see P. Bradshaw, "Whatever Happened to Daily Prayer?" *Worship* 64 (1990): 10–23. There are different levels of spontaneity and fixity inherent in such terms as "spontaneous prayer," and "fixed prayer." Prayer that is truly spontaneous, unmitigated by fixed verbal formulae or any other prescribed element, is no doubt possible, yet, prayer, as a mode of communication must ultimately conform to the demands of social convention. So while the act of praying may be spontaneous, perhaps a direct response to a personal circumstance, the

The degree to which praying is fixed can vary, but the latter mode of praying just described—predicated on the establishment of fixed words, set hours, and even posture and intentionality—found ultimate expression in the daily prayer service of the synagogue, which occurs conventionally in the morning, afternoon, and evening. Today this form of worship stands at the center of Jewish religious and cultural life; yet, unlike other major Jewish practices, such as Sabbath observance or circumcision, fixed daily prayer was not prescribed by biblical warrant. The question thus arises: when, how, and why did the practice of fixed daily prayer develop?

Through the employment of philology, source-criticism, and form-criticism, scholars have written much in the last one hundred and fifty years—although a consensus has not yet been reached—about the textual transmission of the words of fixed prayer.[3] Only modest critical attention, however, has been given to those aspects of fixed daily prayer that may not appear in the actual prayer text, such as locale, gestures, and the times that prayer should be performed. In light of the growing interest in current scholarship that is asking questions related to the establishment and implementation of religious practices, rituals, and customs, it seems an appropriate and potentially fruitful time to broaden the inquiry about the origins and development of fixed daily prayer. In this study, I will take up this challenge and focus on the setting of specific hours and patterns of time for daily prayer in the Second Temple period.

In the process, I hope to shed light on a range of questions: 1) When exactly during the day did ancient Jews pray? 2) How is fixed daily prayer explained and legitimized given the absence of explicit biblical warrant? 3) Can the practice of fixed daily prayer tell us anything about ancient Jewish identity and related socio-historical questions? And finally, 4) what might analyzing fixed daily prayer in the Second Temple period tell us about the transition from temple to synagogue, given that temple worship took place twice daily, but the daily liturgy of the synagogue, by the Late Antique period, consisted of prayer three times daily? This study will

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one praying would still adhere to a certain level of fixed expressions and formulae. Thus, while containing a certain degree of fixed words and formulae, "spontaneous prayer," unlike "fixed prayer," neither adheres formally to fixed time patterns, nor is the reason or purpose fixed or predetermined. These two features, 1) fixed time patterns, and 2) purpose, are therefore important for defining and distinguishing "spontaneous prayer" and "fixed prayer."

[3] See 1. Review of Scholarship below.

tackle the first two questions directly and seek to shed light indirectly on the last two.

1. Review of Scholarship

Before I lay out the goals of the present study in more detail, it would be worthwhile to review the general trends, methods, hypotheses, and conclusions of some of the major studies that have shaped and influenced our understanding of the development of fixed daily prayer. My purpose is not to provide a complete and comprehensive review of all studies on Jewish liturgy, but to map out more generally the state of the research.[4]

The review is divided for heuristic purposes into two sections, based on two long-standing hypotheses about the origins and development of Jewish liturgy. The first section includes studies that adopted primarily philological, source-critical, and form-critical approaches to determine the textual history and formation of prayer texts. Central to these studies is the hypothesis that the basic core of the prayers of the conventional daily service originated early in the Second Temple period and that continual additions or adaptations were made until the text reached a stage of relative stability in the early medieval period. Through examining diachronically the textual history of specific prayers—the changes in form, the additions, and interpolations—one could trace the function and purpose of a particular prayer as it changed in response to certain historical processes. Some of these scholars argue that standard prayers found in rabbinic Judaism, such as the Shema liturgy and the Amidah, were already recited daily— albeit in an early form—in the Second Temple period.

It is within this first approach that we find much of the recent scholarship on the prayers found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. This research tends to be more nuanced and sensitive to the problems of historical inquiry

[4] This review was greatly informed by R. Sarason, "On the Use of Method in the Modern Study of Jewish Liturgy," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (ed. W. S. Green; BJS 1; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 97–172; P. Bradshaw, *The Search For the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1–46; R. Kimelman, "Liturgical Studies in the 90's," *Jewish Book Annual* 52 (1994–5): 59–72; S. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer: New Perspectives on Jewish Liturgical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1–21; idem, *Problems with Prayer: Studies in the Textual History of Early Rabbinic Liturgy* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006). See also D. Falk, "The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Study of Ancient Jewish Liturgy," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T. Lim and J. J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 625–30.

than scholarship of previous generations, and many scholars recognize a vast diversity of prayer traditions in this period. Nevertheless, scholars often find within this diversity of prayer traditions certain "precursors" or even "direct antecedents" to rabbinic prayers,[5] and the hypothesis is still maintained—even if implicitly—that a gradual, linear development of fixed prayer took place from the Second Temple to the Late Antique period, and that the scrolls give witness to such a development.

In the second section of my review I will survey scholars who, while still interested in textual history and the formation of prayer texts, emphasize descriptions of prayer practices and the act of praying in ancient literature rather than philological and textual formation. By evaluating the veracity of these descriptions and emphasizing their historical import, these scholars have argued that fixed daily prayer was a radical innovation and served a unique theological purpose unprecedented in earlier generations. Fixed daily prayer was instituted at Yavneh as a response to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and its creators were rabbinic leaders, and while some fixed daily prayers may have existed prior to 70 CE, practiced by some pietistic groups, daily prayer established at this time was essentially different than anything that existed prior. It was only after 70 CE that the Amidah, for example, became a fixed prayer, to be performed as an obligation by the community to replace the services of the ruined temple in Jerusalem.

In the last section of this introductory overview of scholarship, I will highlight a recent trend in the study of ancient Jewish prayer that recognizes the multifaceted nature of prayer and emphasizes the non-textual aspects of praying, such as location, gesture, and times set aside for prayer. Included in this survey are a number of recent scholars who have integrated insights from ritual studies into the study of ancient Jewish liturgy to understand better the social function underlying some of the non-textual aspects of fixed prayer practices, including the establishment of fixed times of prayer.

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[5] Cf. E. Chazon, "Shifting Perspectives on Liturgy at Qumran in the Second Temple Judaism," in vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures* (ed. A. Lange, E. Tov, M. Weigold; Brill: Leiden, 2011), 527.

1.1. *Fixed Prayer as a Gradual Development*

Scholars have been attempting to answer the question of the origins and development of Jewish liturgy since the beginning of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* movement, the modern scientific study of Judaism founded by Leopold Zunz (1794–1886) almost two centuries ago.[6] The impetus for this new school was Zunz's dissatisfaction with the treatment and study of Judaism in the university,[7] or lack thereof; but Zunz's dissatisfaction had much deeper roots that involved a broader discontent both with the lack of civil liberties afforded to Jews and the lack of interaction between Jews and the broader German society more generally, and this was only further exacerbated by the potential he saw in Judaism to contribute to European society. His solution: to reform those aspects of Judaism that he thought to be antiquated and incompatible with the concerns of 19th century Germany, particularly within the synagogue service. Zunz laid out his program of reform in *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, where he declared:

> If there is anything that must be raised from decay, it is this ancient institution in which law and teaching, the old commandment and the new duty, to unite the present with the past, and in which devotion receives its language and its invisible form. The better educated youth must be prepared for the house of God, there to continue its religious education, so that religious

[6] L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt: ein Beitrag zur Altertumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1832). Zunz is often credited not only with founding the modern study of Jewish liturgy, but also the modern scientific study of Judaism more generally. Zunz's essay, entitled, "Etwas über die Rabbinische Litteratur; Nebst Nachrichten über ein Altes bis Jetzt Ungedrucktes Hebräisches Werk," *Gesammelte Schriften* 1 (1875): 1–31 (first published in 1818) lays out his "science of Judaism," and is often credited for marking the beginning of a new era of modern Jewish scholarship. See S. Cohen, "Zunz and Reform Judaism," *HUCA* 31 (1960): 251–76; I. Schorsch, "Das erste Jahrhundert der Wissenschft des Judentums (1818–1919)," in *Wissenschaft vom Judentum: Annäherungern nach dem Holocaust* (ed. M. Brenner and S. Rohrbacher; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 11–24; G. Karpeles, "Leopold Zunz," in *Jewish Literature and Other Essays* (1895, repr., Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1971), 318–39; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. Zunz, Leopold.

[7] A source of his discontent was no doubt one of his own teachers, F. A. Wolf, who wrote the following: "The Hebrew nation did not lift itself to a cultural level so that it might be viewed as a learned and cultured people. It does not even possess prose, but only a kind of semi-poetry. Its historians are nothing but miserable chroniclers. They are unable to write in complete sentences; that was an invention of the Greeks" (my translation; cited from "Vorlesungen über die Alterthumswissenschaft" [vol. 1; Leipzig, 1831], 14). See further in Schorsch, "Das erste Jahrhundert," 11–24, esp. 11–15.

> teaching may penetrate with new life and breathe the warmth of youth into the frozen forms.[8]

The tools for this reform were to be found in historical-critical and source-critical methods, or what Zunz called the new 'science' of Judaism, that he learned in the universities of Germany.[9] Thus, fueled by this spirit of reform (in Zunz's terms: "restoration"), Zunz appealed to history to demonstrate that which was essential to Judaism, and that which was not. Regarding liturgy, he wrote as follows:

> Only the Shema, the Tefillah, some benedictions and thanksgivings, hymns, and private prayers, belong to the period of the Soferim, the Mishna, and the Talmud; but the all the rest, including the piyyutim, the selihot, and the kinot, come from the period of the Geonim, the payyetanim, and the first Rabbinic generation. Naturally, this large extension of the liturgy took place gradually, encountering various forms of opposition, so that great differences exist between the order of prayers of Jews of Africa, Italy, Greece, Spain, Provence, Germany, and Poland. Consequently, no organized Jewish authority or community can be denied the right to remove these additions, above all those which, on account of their length, obscurity, and objectionable content, hinder rather than stimulate devotion . . .[10]

Zunz sought to trace the development of the synagogue liturgy, period by period, from its origins, which he believed to be in the Second Temple period, all the way to the standard Jewish prayer books of his day.[11] In noting liturgical changes and additions, Zunz could recover the pristine origins of the synagogue liturgy, the earliest forms, which he believed were more apt to stimulate devotion and piety. Thus, for example, Zunz argued that in its original form the *Yotzer 'Or* blessing was comprised of only forty-five words and that the supposed additions could be excised because they added nothing new to what was essential in the prayer.[12]

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[8] Zunz, *Vorträge*, 454–5. Translation by S. Cohen, "Zunz and Reform Judaism," 259.

[9] Zunz writes: "But the light must go forth not from Babylon, but from Germany, from this our fatherland . . ." (Zunz, *Vorträge*, 475. Translation by Cohen, "Zunz and Reform Judaism," 259). Within the broader academy, it was also at this time that the historical-critical methods of biblical interpretation were being refined, with source-criticism developing to its full potential. While in Berlin, Zunz learned philology, source-critical, and historical-critical methods from such classicists as A. Boeckh and F. A. Wolf, and from biblicists such as De Wette (an early proponent of the Documentary Hypothesis). See S. Cohen, "Zunz and Reform Judaism," 252; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Zunz, Leopold."

[10] Zunz, *Vorträge*, 477. Translation by Cohen, "Zunz and Reform Judaism," 260.

[11] The remainder of this review of Zunz relies heavily on Sarason, "Jewish Liturgy," 99ff.

[12] Cf. Sarason, "Jewish Liturgy," 100–3. For the Amidah, Zunz attempted to show that each benediction reflected the outstanding interests of roughly five or six different chrono-

With respect to the creators of the daily prayer service and the manner in which daily prayer was performed, Zunz reiterated rabbinic historiography—the "men of the great assembly" were the originators of the tradition (cf. *Pirke Avot* 1.1). As for the times set for daily prayer, Zunz also followed rabbinic tradition, recalling Daniel's prayer routine in Dan 6:11 as evidence for the three-fold pattern of daily prayer.[13]

In terms of his method, Zunz assumed that liturgy could be studied much like any other literary text.[14] That is, he held that each prayer originally consisted of a core, an *Urtext*, penned by a central religious authority, to which later additions were added. The processes by which prayers evolved were linear and sequential, from short and simple forms ("their pure and unaltered forms") to those longer and more complex. Each prayer was therefore made of many different layers that carried the imprint of the cultural milieu in which the addition was composed. With enough attentiveness and the right methods, the historical processes responsible for these later additions could be uncovered and explained, and, if necessary, removed.

Regarding those aspects related to the daily service that lay outside the purview of philological inquiry, such as location for the daily service and the times that prayer was performed, Zunz either ignored or assumed them to be unchanged since the "men of the great assembly" had established them in the Second Temple period synagogue. In other words, Zunz often ended up correlating the results of his philological study of prayer texts and their textual history with the history of the daily prayer service that he derived from certain accounts he found in classical rabbinic literature.[15] He neither questioned the appropriateness of philology as a method for studying the history of prayer, nor did he seem to question

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logical periods. The first and earliest benediction, which includes a petition for the coming messiah, he deemed appropriate for the Seleucid dynasty. Zunz suggested that the seventh benediction or plea for national redemption, *go'el yisra'el*, was inserted due to a national crisis, perhaps caused by Antiochus Epiphanes or Pompey. The benediction added last, the *birkat ha-minim*, was added at Yavneh (following *b. Ber.* 28b).

[13] Zunz, *Vorträge*, 33, 366–7.

[14] These assumptions were based on Zunz's philological and source-critical training in Berlin. See note 9.

[15] Some rabbinic traditions, but not all, assert that the daily prayers originated in the 'great assembly' and their recitation morning, afternoon, and evening is an ancient custom that predated the destruction of the Jerusalem temple by centuries (cf. *b. Ber.* 33a–b; *b. Meg.* 17b–18a. *B. Ber.* 26b asserts that the Patriarchs instituted the daily prayers). For further discussion, see note 57.

the veracity of the narratives about the origins of fixed prayer found in rabbinic literature.

Eventually, the conclusions reached in these studies and the suitability of the methods employed would be questioned, but, for the next one hundred and twenty years or so, scholars of Jewish liturgy continued with the basic assumptions established by Zunz, and they set out to expand and develop further his philological approach to the study of Jewish liturgy. The works of Elbogen (1874–1943) and Finkelstein (1895–1991) are illustrative in this regard and are still commonly cited.[16] Both scholars sought to establish the earliest forms of those prayers found in the daily service, and to untangle the historical processes responsible for the various additions and changes.[17] Finkelstein took this approach to its limits, designating each of the blessings of the Amidah to different historical periods.[18]

Consistent with Zunz's assumption that one could peel back the layers of these prayers and arrive at the original composition, Elbogen and Finkelstein reiterated the rabbinic account of the origins of the daily service: It was the ancestors of the rabbinic office, the Men of the Great Assembly, who composed, arranged, and edited the earliest forms of the prayers

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[16] I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (trans. R. P. Scheindlin; Philadelpia: JPS, 1993), repr. and trans. of *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (3d ed.; Frankfurt: Kauffman, 1931); L. Finkelstein, "The Development of the Amidah," *JQR* 16 (1925–6): 1–41, 127–70, repr. in *Contributions to the Scientific Study of Jewish Liturgy* (ed. J. Petuchowski; New York: Ktav, 1970), 91–177. Elbogen was the first to write a comprehensive book on Jewish liturgy. The book's influence on scholarship still today is evinced by its translation into English in 1993 with little update. For other early studies following Zunz's approach to prayer (although not necessarily his penchant for reform), see, e.g., K. Kohler, "The Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions with a Translation Corresponding to Essene Prayers in the Apostolic Constitutions," *HUCA* 1 (1924): 388–425; A. Marmorstein, "The Oldest Form of the Eighteen Benedictions," *JQR* 34 (1943–44): 137–59; E. Bickerman, "The Civic Prayer of Jerusalem," *HTR* 55 (1962): 163–85; L. Liebreich, "The Impact of Nehemiah 9:5–37 on the Liturgy of the Synagogue," *HUCA* 32 (1961): 227–37.

[17] Elbogen was also interested in reforming the modern prayer service. See, for example, *Jewish Liturgy*, 17–9 where he argues that all but the core of the *Yotzer* benediction is unnecessary and could be eliminated.

[18] According to Finkelstein the oldest elements of the Amidah contain the title *'Adonai 'Elohenu*, while in the second layer the title *'Abinu* ("Our father") was added. He also used a seven-word formula, which he argued to be ancient, as a criterion for fixing the date of certain passages. For a summary of his findings, see "The Development of the Amidah," 41ff. Elbogen is more restrained in this type of periodization of the liturgy, but these arguments still abound in *Jewish Liturgy*. For example, he posits that petitions for the coming messianic age must have entered the Amidah sometime during the Hasmonean rebellion. He writes, "The notion of redemption became the focus of religious imagination, and longing for freedom not only from oppression and misfortune in this world, but also for messianic salvation, became an important impulse to religious development" (in, *Jewish Liturgy*, 195).

for the daily service prior to the Maccabean period (cf. *b. Ber*. 28b, 35a; *b. Meg*. 17b–18a [compare with *Sifre* 343]), and the synagogue was the locus for praying.[19]

In addition to prayer texts, Elbogen thought that the times of prayer and the basic structure of the daily service originated in the synagogue, although he attempted to refine Zunz's theory of origins by arguing that the roots of the daily prayer service grew out of the *maʿamadot* services of the temple that are recounted in rabbinic literature (cf. *m. Taʿan*. 4.3).[20] Elbogen argued that the conventional threefold daily pattern of prayer resulted from the conflation of a two-fold pattern of temple sacrifices, and a four-fold pattern based on the *maʿamadot* service. The *maʿamadot* service, led by the lay community, allowed for the quick diffusion of prayer services throughout the land of Israel. Once the *maʿamadot* became a fixed institution, the wide-spread recitation of fixed daily prayers was inevitable.[21] Elbogen pointed to Dan 6:10/11 and Ps 55:17/18 as evidence for the early existence of a three-fold pattern of daily prayer;[22] this pattern, he argued, continued to be preserved in rabbinic texts and practiced to this day.

The first markedly different approach to the question of the origins and development of the daily prayer service did not emerge until the publication of J. Heinemann's dissertation in 1964.[23] Instead of a philological and source-critical approach, Heinemann utilized form-criticism to analyze the various stylistic and formal features of numerous rabbinic prayers found in tannaitic and amoraic texts. Contrary to earlier theories about the sequential evolution of an authoritative prayer text, Heinemann

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[19] Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, 5–6, 46; idem, "Studies in Jewish Liturgy," *JQR* 19 (1907): 230; see also Finkelstein, "Development of the Amidah," 131–3.

[20] Cf. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, 189–92. For a recent discussion of the *maʿamadot* service see, J. Tabory, "The Precursors of the 'Amidah," in *Identität durch Gebet: Zur gemeinschaftsbildenden Funktion institutionalisierten Betens in Judentum und Christentum* (ed. A. Gerhards, A. Doeker, and P. Ebenbauer; Paderborn: Ferdinand Schönigh, 2003), 115–7; idem, "*Maʿamadot*: A Second Temple non-Temple Liturgy," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January 2000* (ed. E. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 235–62.

[21] Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, 192.

[22] Cf. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, 189–92. See also E. Bickerman (cf. "Civic Prayer for Jerusalem"), who argued that Dan 6:11 proves the practice of fixed private prayer spoken three times daily during the third century BCE. Bickerman also argued that the Amidah, which contained at its core public concerns, was recited twice daily during the temple sacrifices of Jerusalem (p. 177). For a similar discussion, see C. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue Upon the Divine Office* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1944), 59–70.

[23] J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (trans. R. Sarason; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977).

proposed that different forms and stylistic features of the same prayer existed simultaneously, in oral rather than written form, and that these variations were the products of different social settings, such as the temple, the synagogue, and the study-house. Heinemann thus argued that within the earliest stages of development, fixed prayers did not originate from a single *Urtext* that later developed into multiple versions, but the opposite. He wrote:

> It seems to us more correct to assume the opposite [of Zunz]: that at first many different forms of the same basic prayer grew up in a somewhat haphazard fashion, and that only afterwards, gradually in the course of time, did the Rabbis impose their legal norms on this vast body of material.[24]

Thus, instead of an authorial, written *Urtext*, different 'folk' groups, not rabbinic leaders, from different geographic and social locations composed and used prayers in the synagogue. Heinemann further argued that the popularity of fixed prayer grew in the surrounding lay circles to such an extent that priestly authorities eventually adopted, albeit somewhat reluctantly, fixed prayers into the temple, as evinced by *m. Tamid* 5.1 and *m. Yoma* 7.1. He was quick to add, however, that the prayers recited there were still outside the official cultic sacrifices of the temple and that these prayers were recited neither at the time of the sacrificial offerings nor in physical proximity to them.[25]

Heinemann further speculated that the reason why fixed prayer developed during this period was because of a new spirit of democratization within Jewish society that allowed all Jews to approach God.[26] It was

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[24] Heinemann, *Prayer*, 7.

[25] Heinemann, *Prayer*, 126. Those that accept the historical claims of *m. Tamid* 5.1 argue that the officiating priests for daily morning prayer in the temple did not integrate prayer into the sacrificial service. Rather, these priests left the sacrificial area to conduct prayers in the 'Chamber of Hewn Stone' to keep separate the two institutions of prayer and sacrifice. Cf. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, 189–90; Bickerman, "The Civic Prayer for Jerusalem," 177–80; Heinemann, *Prayer*, 122–38, esp. 131–3; A. Baumgarten, "Invented Traditions in the Maccabean Era," in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion* (ed. H. Cancik et al.; 3 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 1.197–210; I. Knohl, "Between Voice and Silence: The Relationship between Prayer and Temple Cult," *JBL* 115 (1995): 21ff.; E. Regev, "The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer in Israel: Causes and Processes in the Development of Prayer During the Second Temple Period," *Zion* 70 (2005): 8–9.

[26] See also M. Greenberg who argued that the prayer life of the synagogue was the "consummation of the egalitarian tendency of Scripture in spiritual matters" (in *Biblical Prose Prayer As a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983], 53). For similar arguments, see also S. Cohen, "The Temple and Synagogue," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume 3, The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 306–7; S. Balentine, *Prayer*

during the Late Antique period that the rabbinic office gained greater control over the synagogue service and the prayers recited; this led gradually to a somewhat uniform service by the Medieval period. This aspect of Heinemann's hypothesis fits well with the recent work of such scholars as Lawrence Hoffman, Ruth Langer, and Seth Schwartz, all of whom argue that the growth and extension of rabbinic authority in Jewish communities was a Late Antique phenomenon.[27]

Heinemann's contributions to the study of Jewish prayer are vast, and he is better able to account for the multiplicity of prayer versions. Yet, like his predecessors he still ends up arguing—or perhaps we should say, affirming, rabbinic opinion—that the origins of the basic forms of fixed daily prayer began "hundreds of years before the destruction of the Second Temple,"[28] and that many of these prayers originated as a product of the synagogue at that time. The former assertion is contestable (as we shall see in 1.2.), and the latter assertion is now held by many synagogue scholars to be untenable.[29]

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in the Hebrew Bible: The Drama of Divine-Human Dialogue (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 45–6; M. Haran, "Cult and Prayer," in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* (ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauser; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 87–91, esp. 89–91. Elbogen also suggested that the impetus for fixed prayer was due to a fundamental change in the religious ethos of the people that took place during the exile. This new spiritual outlook placed high demands on "personal piety and the participation of every individual in religious life. Had this manner of thinking been pursued consistently it would have led to the elimination of sacrifices. Though this conclusion was not reached immediately, institutions were created permitting the people a more active participation in the cult" (*Jewish Liturgy*, 190). See also J. Blenkinsopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 97. Blenkinsopp attributes the increased prominence of prayer in the Second Temple period to a "crisis of confidence in the priesthood." Perhaps a verse that may give witness to this new-found spirit of piety is found in Tob 12:18, where the angel Raphael encourages Tobit and Tobias to "Bless him [i.e. God] each and every day; sing his praises."

[27] Cf., for example, L. Hoffman, *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979); R. Langer, *To Worship God Properly: Tensions Between Liturgical Custom and Halakhah in Judaism* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1998); for a more general study, see S. Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E to 640 C.E.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[28] Heinemann, *Prayer*, 13. In his chapter "The Statutory Prayers: Their Nature, Origin and Content," (13–36) Heinemann is content to quote various rabbinic passages to prove the great antiquity of the institution of fixed prayer (*b. Meg.* 17b–18a; *b. Ber.* 26b, 28b, 33a; *Sifre Deut.* 343; *Midrash on Psalms* 17.4, 17; *Tanhuma Ki tabo* 1; *y. Ber.* 7, 11c).

[29] A majority of scholars now argue that fixed daily prayer was not a characteristic of the pre-70 CE synagogue. It is likely that some blessings developed alongside Torah reading in the Second Temple period, but fixed daily prayer—prayer recited at set times with fixed formulae—did not develop in the synagogue until later. See, for example, S. Zeitlin, "The Tefillah, the Shemonah Esreh: An Historical Study of the First Canonization of the Hebrew Liturgy," *JQR* 54 (1963–64): 228–38; L. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First*

Moreover, Heinemann's concern is solely with textual evidence, and therefore he does not discuss the broader issues of how fixed daily prayer was performed, including the establishment of patterns of set prayer times. He seems to have assumed that, regardless of the diverse settings out of which the different types of prayers developed, fixed prayer was performed consistently three times daily. That is, while the prayers themselves developed gradually from diversity to uniformity, Heinemann assumed that the performance of prayers, i.e. the hours set for prayer and the location, was uniformly regimented very early (at the origins of the institution?) in the Second Temple period.

1.1.1. *The Dead Sea Scrolls*

The research that ensued after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls quickly led to the development of a specialized field of Qumran scholarship often distinct from the study of Judaism in Antiquity more broadly. Yet the influence of earlier scholarship on Jewish liturgy (i.e. Zunz, Elbogen, and Finkelstein) is clearly evident in the studies on prayer in the scrolls. Shemaryahu Talmon, for example, one of the earliest scholars to work in detail on prayers and descriptions of prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls, echoes some of the same sentiments of his predecessors in the larger field of Jewish liturgy, but adapted for his research purposes. Three of his arguments are insightful for this review: 1) Similar historical circumstances in both the Qumran community[30] and the rabbinic communities of Late

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Thousand Years (2d ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 162–9; A. Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-historical Study* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001), 237–400; H. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue: The Question of Sabbath Worship in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 251; S. Fine and E. Meyers, "Synagogues," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (ed. E. Meyers; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5.118–23. Although see the objections of D. Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 404–15, who argues for communal prayer in the synagogue on the Sabbath and individual prayer in the synagogue during the week.

30 The validity of the term "Qumran community," most often used to describe the group behind the sectarian documents found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, has become increasingly questioned. It is likely that some of the sectarian documents discovered at Qumran were authored and/or copied there. Yet, a number of recent studies have argued that the sectarian corpus cannot be associated only with the geographical location of Qumran, and that this sectarian group was part of a larger movement that was geographically diverse. See most recently, J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); idem, "The Yaḥad and the 'Qumran Community,'" in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission*, 81–96; A. Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for* The Community Rule (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009); S. Metso, "Whom does the Term Yaḥad Identify?" in *Biblical Traditions*

Antiquity—particularly the lack of access to cultic sacrifice—provided an impetus to seek out substitutionary forms of worship through the practice of prayer.[31] 2) A number of sectarian scrolls (e.g. 1QS IX 26–XI 14, 1QH^{a} XX 7–14, 11QPs^{a} XXVII 2–11) contain references to specific prayers and set times of prayer that parallel later prayers and prayer customs evinced in rabbinic literature.[32] These references evince an early form of the prayers that would eventually become part of the conventional daily prayer service; in essence one could trace a trajectory of prayer from Qumran to the rabbis. 3) The prayers of the Qumran community were grouped together in a 'Manual of Benediction,' or Jewish prayer book, a practice that was later mirrored in the synagogue.[33] Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea

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in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb (ed. C. Hempel and J. Lieu; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 213–35. Some scholars therefore prefer the term, "the *Yaḥad* movement," as *Yaḥad* is used self-referentially in sectarian documents. In spite of this nuance in terminology, many scholars ultimately identify the sectarian movement with the Essenes, one of Josephus' three "philosophies" (e.g. Collins, Schofield, and Metso). I will continue to use the term "Qumran community" in this study but recognize its limitations.

[31] S. Talmon, "The Order of Prayers of the Sect of the Judaean Desert," *Tarbiz* 29 (1959): 1–20; idem, "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judaean Desert," *RevQ* 2 (1959–60): 475–500; Talmon further developed his arguments in, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in the Light of Qumran Literature," in *Qumran: Sa piété, sa théologie, et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; Paris: Leuven University Press, 1978), 265–84, repr. in *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 200–43. For other early studies on Qumran prayer, see for example, J. Jungmann, "Altchristliche Gebetsordung im Lichte des Regelbuches von 'En Fescha," *ZKT* 75 (1952): 215–19; F. Baumgärtel, "Zur Liturgie in der 'Sektenrolle' vom Toten Meer," *ZAW* 65 (1953): 263–65. For more recent surveys of the state of research on the topic of prayer and the Dead Sea Scrolls, see E. Chazon, "Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1.244–70; D. Falk, "Prayer in the Qumran Texts," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism: Volume Three, The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury, W. D. Davies and J. Sturdy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 852–76; E. Schuller, "Prayer at Qumran," in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran: Inaugural Conference of the ISDCL at Salzburg, Austria, 5–9 July 2003* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel and J. Corley; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 411–28.

[32] The chronological order in which the *editio princeps* of the scrolls were published is crucial for understanding the history of scholarship and the formulation of particular theories, such as Talmon's arguments for the existence of a 'Manual of Benedictions.' The quick publication of such cave one texts as the *War Scroll* (1QM), the *Community Rule* (1QS), the *Thanksgiving Psalms* (1QH^{a-b}), and *Festival Prayers* (1Q34–1Q34^{bis}) provided scholars with much new information on prayer and worship, although these early scholars were still unaware of such texts as 4Q503, 4Q504–06, and 4Q408 that were only published in the 80's.

[33] The parallels with rabbinic Judaism are discussed already in his article in *Revue de Qumran*, particularly the parallels with the daily recital of the Shema and Amidah. Talmon's 1978 article, however, makes much more explicit this connection to rabbinic Judaism (cf. "Emergence" 210ff.), thus highlighting the institutional similarities. In his later 1989 article, Talmon adds *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the *Psalms Scroll* (11QPs^{a}) to the roster of texts that would have been included in the community's 'Manual of Benedictions.' Cf.

Scrolls, the oldest Jewish prayer book was from the gaonic period,[34] but if Talmon's remarkable claim proved true—i.e. from among the different documents of the Dead Sea Scrolls one can reconstruct the earliest Jewish prayer book—the arguments of his predecessors that the core of many of the prayers in the modern prayer book already existed in the Second Temple period would be further strengthened.[35]

The text central to Talmon's thesis is found in the poetic composition at the end of the *Community Rule* (1QS IX–XI). He divided this text into two sections, labeling the first *The Psalm of the Appointed Times* (1QS IX 21–X 8) and the second, *The Psalm of Benedictions* (1QS X 9–XI 14)—the former listing the times suitable for prayer, the latter a type of prayer roster listing the prayers to be recited at the appropriate times throughout the day.[36] Regarding daily prayer times in the first section (1QS IX 21–X 8) Talmon saw a three-fold pattern of prayer that coincided with the natural divisions of the day and night (six times of prayer in total),[37] citing

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"Emergence," 211–2; idem, "Extra-Canonical Hebrew Psalms from Qumran—Psalm 151," in *The World of Qumran from Within*, 244–72. For the question of whether 11QPs[a] is a liturgical collection of psalms or a biblical Psalter, see M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll [11QPs[a]]—A Problem of Canon and Text," *Textus* 5 (1966): 22–33; P. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 202–27.

[34] The first Jewish prayer book is known only from the 9th century, compiled by Amram Gaon. Cf. D. Hedegård, *Seder Amram Gaon. Part 1: Hebrew Text with Critical Apparatus, Translation with Notes and Introduction* (Lund: A.-B. Ph. Lindstedts Universitets-Bokhandel, 1951). In the gaonic period, concerns for uniform practice led to the compilation of a prayer book (see Hoffman, *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service*). Talmon refrained from commenting on the dynamics that led to the compilation of such a prayer manual at Qumran.

[35] M. Weinfeld's position is similar. He has argued that certain sections of 11QPs[a] correspond to the order of morning psalms and prayers in conventional Jewish liturgy (e.g. the Hymn to the Creator paralleled the *Yotzer 'Or* and *Kedushah*); cf. M. Weinfeld, "The Morning Prayers (Birkhot Haschahar) at Qumran," 481–94; idem, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research. Papers Read at a Symposium Sponsored by Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi at the University of Haifa and at Tel Avivi University March 20–24, 1988* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 241–58.

[36] Talmon argued that the third section, 1QS XI 15–22, had no intrinsic connection to the subject matter at hand (cf. "Emergence," 213).

[37] Talmon suggests that the order of prayer in 1QS, morning, noon, evening, indicates that the Qumran community reckoned the beginning of the day with the morning. This order, of course, contrasts with Ps 55:17–18, where the psalmist lists times for prayer beginning with the evening (evening, morning, and noon), and with the order of prayers in rabbinic Judaism (cf. *y. Ber.* 4.1; 7a; *t. Ber.* 3.6). See S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," *ScrHier* 4 (1958): 162–99; idem, "What's in a Calendar? Calendar Conformity, Calendar Controversy, and Calendar Reform in Ancient and Medieval Judaism," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered in Honor of Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. R. Troxel, K. Friebel, and D. Magary;

Dan 6:11 and Ps 55:17–18 as proof that such a tripartite pattern of prayer was already widely customary in Jewish circles in the Second Temple period. Talmon thought that the roster of prayer in the second section (1QS X 9–XI 14) showed evidence for the recitation of such prayers as the *Yotzer 'Or* in the morning (1QS X 13), the Shema morning and evening (1QS X 13–14; based on Ps 139:2), a midday communal prayer together with a meal (1QS X 14–15), and the Amidah in the evening (1QS X 16).[38]

The full publication of all the Qumran scrolls has given scholars a better understanding of the scope of the liturgical material, and many now disagree with some of the specifics of Talmon's arguments.[39] In particular his reading of *The Psalm of the Appointed Times* (1QS IX 21–X 8) and *The Psalm of Benedictions* (1QS X 9–XI 14) is often criticized for being too literal.[40] While it is generally acknowledged that these passages refer to daily (and seasonal) times of prayer, their poetic character makes it difficult to speculate about the roster of the daily prayer service. Instead of Talmon's proposed 'prayer six times a day,' many scholars, by harmonizing 1QS IX 26–X 8 and 1QH^a XX 7–14 with other scrolls and Second Temple period texts (e.g. 4Q503, 4Q408, 4Q504–506, *Let. Aris.* §158–60, and Josephus' *Ant.* 4.212), argue that the Qumran community followed a pattern of praying twice a day. Whereas the six-times daily prayer pattern was proposed on the basis of solar movement—sunrise, midday, evening, sunset, midnight, twilight—those that advocate prayer twice daily often emphasize a connection between 1QS IX 26–X 8 and 1QH^a XX 7–14 and the twice-daily pattern of sacrificial worship.[41] Many scholars have agreed

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Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 451–60; idem, "Emergence," 218. For further discussion, see Chapter Three, note 36.

[38] The theme of protection is found is 1QS X 16 and in the evening Amidah.

[39] In 1982 a number of significant prayer texts, such as 4Q503, 504–506, were published by M. Baillet in *Qumran Grotte 4, III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

[40] E.g. L. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. Levine; Philadelphia, PA: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987), 40; D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 106; E. Chazon, "'When Did They Pray?' Times for Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (ed. R. Argal, B. Bow, and R. Werline; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 45.

[41] For an early attempt to correlate this calendar with times of sacrifice, see Schiffman, "Early History," 39–40, where he correlates times of sacrifice, morning and evening (late afternoon), with times of prayer. Cf. also Chazon, "When Did They Pray?," 51. While distinguishing between patterns of prayer time based on sacrificial and astronomical patterns, Chazon argues, in the end, that these two patterns are functionally the same. The validity of this argument will be discussed in Chapter Three.

that 1QS X 9–XI 14 alludes to the recitation of the Shema morning and evening (X 10) and prayer at the midday communal meal (X 14–15), but do not find convincing Talmon's suggestion that the poem alludes to the *Yotzer 'Or* and the Amidah.[42] As for the existence of a 'Manual of Benedictions,' such a composition was never recovered with the completed publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and its existence seems unlikely.[43]

In the end, however, the criticisms leveled against Talmon are more concerned with how he read specific Qumran texts. His overall thesis has been reaffirmed by many Qumran scholars, namely that 1), some of the socio-religious conditions at Qumran were also present in rabbinic circles—that is, both groups lacked access to cultic sacrifices, and therefore replaced this void with fixed daily prayer; and 2), the relationship between Qumran and rabbinic prayer is one of continuity rather than discontinuity.[44]

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[42] Although see Falk who maintains that 1QS X 9–XI 14 may refer to specific prayers within the daily liturgy; see D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 113–21; idem, "Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts From Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. D. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E. Schuller; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 106–26. That 1QS X 10 refers to the Shema is a contentious issue; some scholars argue that it does not: P. Foster, "Why Did Matthew Get the Shema Wrong? A Study of Matt 22:37," *JBL* 122 (2003): 309–33, esp. 329; R. Sarason, "Communal Prayer at Qumran and Among the Rabbis: Certainties and Uncertainties," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January 2000* (ed. E. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 158–9. For further discussion see Chapter Two.

[43] Cf. Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran," 275; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 122.

[44] See especially, Chazon, "Prayers From Qumran," 264–84; eadem, "The Qedushah Liturgy and its History in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *From Qumran to Cairo* (ed. J. Tabory; Jerusalem: Orhot, 1999), 7–17; eadem, "On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer: New Data from Qumran," *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 15 (1990): 1–21; Schiffman, "Early History;" Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 236–9. See also the collection of important reprinted articles by M. Weinfeld in *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (London: Continuum Press, 2005).

It is remarkable, however, that in the end, despite his position that the impetus for the establishment of fixed prayer at Qumran is the same as in later rabbinic communities, Talmon considers the "monastic" qualities of Qumran prayer to be more in common with socio-religious characteristics of monastic Christianity. This, he suggests, is a major difference between Qumran and rabbinic prayer, as the latter developed, according to Talmon, with a focus on familial relationships (Talmon, "Emergence," 243). See also J. Collins, "The Angelic Life," in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity* (ed. T. Karlsen Seim and J. Økland; Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 309–10. He also notes a striking similarity between the "transformed life" described in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian monasticism.

Since Talmon formulated this hypothesis, progress has been made in understanding the provenance of the individual documents within the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus, including some of the prayer material. In the early years of Dead Sea Scrolls research, studies tended to designate most of the non-biblical documents as sectarian. As rich as this new body of material was found to be, the 'sectarian' label tended to distract from the potential contributions that these texts could make to the broader study of early Judaism. As a result, scholars such as Fleischer and Levine brushed aside the scrolls as irrelevant to the discussion.[45] These scholars argued that while these prayers sometimes displayed surprising similarities with later traditions they were of lesser value for determining lines of continuity or trajectories into the rabbinic period because they exemplified the practices and beliefs of an exceptionally pious group different from what is typically represented by 'mainstream' Judaism.

In the last couple of decades, however, discussion of the sectarian/non-sectarian question has become increasingly nuanced, so that now it seems the reverse is often true—a non-sectarian provenance is usually assumed unless proven otherwise. In a series of articles dealing with this issue as it relates to Qumran prayer texts, Esther Chazon has concluded that many prayers in the scrolls lack distinctive sectarian vocabulary and ideas and therefore reflect a broader Second Temple period milieu.[46] Moreover, like Talmon, Chazon finds evidence of a shared tradition between Qumran

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[45] Fleischer limits discussion of the scrolls to only one page of his forty-four page article (cf. E. Fleischer, "On the Beginnings of Obligatory Jewish Prayer," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 415). See also R. Langer: "Some sort of organized verbal prayers are recorded in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but these cannot be seen either as functioning in the popular synagogues or as the direct precursors of Rabbinic liturgies." In, "Early Rabbinic Liturgy in its Palestinian Milieu: Did Non-Rabbis Know the Amidah?" in vol. 2 of *When Judaism and Christianity Began: Essays in Memory of Anthony J. Saldarini* (ed. A. J. Avery-Peck, D. Harrington, and J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 426.

[46] Chazon, "Is *Divrei ha-me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer," 3–17; eadem, "Prayers from Qumran." See also Schuller's discussion of provenance in "Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts From Qumran," in *Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 153–71. She is more cautious about our ability to determine what constitutes a sectarian or non-sectarian prayer text. See also Schiffman, "Early History," written a few years earlier. His article was perhaps the first to pull together the various liturgies found amongst the scrolls for a systematic analysis and to try to make sense of the sectaries' liturgical system as a whole. In terms of daily prayer, Schiffman saw that texts such as 4Q503 exhibit clear parallels with daily prayer in tannaitic Judaism, especially with respect to 1) daily times of prayer, morning and evening (he finds the halakhic debate surrounding the necessity of evening prayer, unlike morning, and late afternoon prayer, indicative of its non-essential nature, pp. 45–6), and 2) the blessing over the luminaries preceding the morning Shema.

and rabbinic prayer, both in terms of themes and practice, which, she argues, indicate "clear lines of transmission" from Second Temple times to the Late Antique period.[47]

Chazon's conclusions regarding provenance set the stage in many ways for the type of work that followed. In 1998 Daniel Falk published a book-length study, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, in which he further tested Chazon's arguments and reached a similar conclusion regarding the place of prayer within the historical development of Jewish liturgy. But, whereas Chazon is hesitant to speculate about the circles from which these non-sectarian prayers originate[48] (e.g., scribal, priestly, or levitical), one of Falk's main conclusions is that priestly and levitical circles closely connected to the Jerusalem temple were responsible for the creation and development of the liturgical traditions of the Second Temple period.[49] Moreover, because the temple was the place out of which Israel's liturgical tradition developed, it was also the link that explains the similarities between the liturgy found at Qumran and in the Late Antique synagogue. That is, the liturgy of the Qumran community and the synagogue display a similarity regarding form and content, "as well as the broader aspects of performance, time, and liturgical

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[47] Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran," 277–84 , esp. 277; eadem, "The *Qedusha* Liturgy," 7–17; "Liturgy Before and After the Temple's Destruction: Change or Continuity?" in *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History? On Jews and Judaism before and after the Destruction of the Second Temple* (ed. D. Schwartz and Z. Weiss in collaboration with R. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 371–92. Chazon utilized criteria developed by Carol Newsom to help navigate the Qumran sectarian/nonsectarian question. Cf. C. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. Propp, B. Halpern, D. Freedman; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87. See also the more recent articles by D. Dimant, "Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the Apocryphon of Joshua," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (ed. E. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105–34; eadem, "Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence and Usage of a Taxonomy," *RevQ* 24 (2009): 7–18; eadem, "The Vocabulary of the Qumran Sectarian Texts," in *Qumran und die Archäologie: Texte und Kontexte* (ed. J. Frey, C. Claussen, and N. Kessler; Tübingen: Mohr Seibeck, 2011), 347–95.

[48] See for example Chazon's work on 4Q503 in "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts: An Analysis of the Daily Prayers (4Q503)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery, Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 222.

[49] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 253–5; idem, "Qumran and the Synagogue Liturgy," in *The Ancient Synagogue From Its Origins Until 200 C.E.* (ed. B. Olsson and M. Zetterholm; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), 404–34; idem, "Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple," 106–26; idem, "Prayer in the Qumran Texts," 852–76.

sequence" because they are both rooted in the setting of the Jerusalem temple.[50] Further, because fixed prayer originated within the temple precincts, Falk argues that prayer in the Second Temple period functioned not as a replacement to sacrifices, but as a natural component of sacrificial ritual. These arguments have provided a solid alternative to the theory that fixed communal prayers originated in the synagogue of the Second Temple period.[51] In a recent study Eyal Regev revisited the question of the socio-historical setting of fixed prayer and agreed with Falk that all available evidence points to the temple as the place where fixed prayer originated *sui generis* and developed.[52]

1.2. *Fixed Prayer as a Radical Innovation*

As we turn now to examine the second approach to reconstructing the origins and development of fixed daily prayer, we will begin with a 1963 article by Solomon Zeitlin, in which he argued that fixed prayer developed only after 70 CE as a response to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple:

> To conclude, the *tefillah, Shemoneh Esreh*, including the readings recited every morning in the Temple, were codified between 73–90. This was the first canonization of the Hebrew liturgy. There were no formal prayers before the destruction of the Temple. Every person prayed to God according to his needs. There was only one formal prayer which was recited by the high priest on the Day of Atonement. The synagogue, which hitherto was a place of assemblage for the men of the *Ma'amad* where portions from the Torah and the prophets were read became a house of prayer after the destruction of the Temple.[53]

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[50] Falk, "Qumran and the Synagogue Liturgy," 427.

[51] See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 119ff., and the conclusions in this book. The relationship between prayer and sacrifice at Qumran, however, is different than in 'mainstream' Second Temple Period Judaism, as the Qumran sectaries believed that the Jerusalem temple was defiled and its services rendered ineffective. Because the Qumran community did not have access to cultic sacrifices, scholars often highlight the theological importance of prayer as a substitute for sacrifice for this group.

See also E. Schuller's discussion of sacrifice and prayer in "Worship, Temple, and Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Part 5, The Judaism of Qumran. A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. A. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner, and B. Chilton; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 125–43; eadem, "Prayers and Psalms From the Pre-Maccabean Period," *DSD* 13 (2006): 317. In contrast, see R. Arnold who argues that fixed communal prayer at Qumran is only linked to sacrifice implicitly, in "Qumran Prayer as an Act of Righteousness," *JQR* 95 (2005): 509–29.

[52] Regev, "The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer in Israel," 5–29.

[53] S. Zeitlin, "The Shemone Esreh," 249.

Since then his position has been taken up numerous times, most forcefully by Ezra Fleischer and Lee Levine.[54] Instead of supposing that the evolution of fixed prayer began sometime between Ezra and the Hasmoneans because of a new spirit of democratized worship, these two scholars have argued that fixed prayer was instituted at Yavneh (c. 90 CE) as a requirement to be performed communally three times daily to fill the cultic void created by the destruction of the Jerusalem temple.[55] Fleischer views the Amidah as paradigmatic of the practice of fixed prayer:

> The *ʿamidah* was not meant to be a prayer in the common meaning of the term, but rather a ritual of collective worship, a divine service in the strictly formal sense: its recitation is compulsory; it is performed at set times in a solemn cultic setting; its contents are fixed and concern exclusively the welfare of the collective; and it must be recited in the presence of the community.[56]

When compared to the scholars whom we discussed earlier (1.1.), the advocates of this historical model are more sensitive to the rhetorical

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[54] E. Fleischer, "Obligatory Jewish Prayer," 397–441; idem, "On the Origins of the *ʿAmidah*: A Response to Ruth Langer," *Prooftexts* 20 (2000): 380–7; L. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 162–73; idem, "The Nature and Origin of the Palestinian Synagogue Reconsidered," *JBL* 115 (1996): 425–48; idem, "The Second Temple Synagogue: The Formative Years," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. Levine; Philadelphia: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1987), 7–31. There is some development in Levine's thinking on this issue. In Levine's earlier work, such as in "The Second Temple Synagogue: The Formative Years," 19, he entertains the possibility that the Amidah developed in gradual stages. He considers that behind the redaction of the Amidah at Yavneh "lay a period of formulation that spanned generations and perhaps centuries." This long history of development leading up to the formulation of the Amidah at Yavneh is precisely what Fleischer is arguing against in "Obligatory Jewish Prayer." Later in his more recent work, *The Ancient Synagogue*, Levine's arguments are closer to those of Fleischer's. See also S. Fine, *This Holy Place: On the Sanctity of the Synagogue during the Greco-Roman Period* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 11; Notre Dame, IN: The University of Notre Dame Press), 49–59; U. Ehrlich, *The Nonverbal Language of Prayer: A New Approach to Jewish Liturgy* (trans. by D. Ordan; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 12, 211–7. Ehrlich argues that the non-verbal features of the Amidah are a post-70 CE development.

[55] Fleischer, "Obligatory Jewish Prayer," 397–441. Fleischer argues that for Jews to recite eighteen benedictions, the prayer must have been written ("Obligatory Jewish Prayer," 440); Fleischer, "On the Origins of the *ʿAmidah*," 380–7; Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 535–58. Those that propose the gradual development of fixed prayer from the Second Temple period argue that at Yavneh, the rabbis simply arranged appropriate themes and directives for prayer, but did not create original prayer texts. See Kimelman, "Liturgical Studies in the 90's," 59–72, esp. 67. While Kimelman acknowledges that there is reason to attribute the order of benedictions to a single period, he doubts that original *raison d'être* of the *Shemone Esreh* was to replace cultic sacrifice.

[56] Fleischer, "On the Origins of the *ʿAmidah*," 381–2.

strategies and claims of rabbinic historiography regarding fixed prayer;[57] they are also less positivistic about what actual prayer texts can tell us about the historical origins of fixed daily prayer. This is not to say that liturgical texts are ignored. These scholars recognize that liturgy was a prominent feature already in the Late Antique synagogue and that it had already undergone a large degree of systematization before the production of the ninth century CE prayer book. More of the focus, however, is on rabbinic *discussions* about prayer in the Second Temple period and the historical veracity of the setting that the rabbis are describing. Fleischer in particular argues that most of the rabbinic descriptions of pre-70 CE liturgical worship are retrojections of rabbinic *realia*, or even utopia ideals. So, for example, whereas many scholars of Jewish liturgy have taken texts like *m. Tamid* 5.1ff. as straightforward evidence for an official daily fixed prayer service in the temple,[58] Fleischer argues that later rabbis used the routine of the temple cult to set precedents for their own practices. He does not suggest that all rabbinic accounts of prayer prior to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple are completely fabricated; however, these accounts do not evince prayer as a fixed, obligatory endeavor, nor do they

[57] The varying and sometimes contradictory opinions within rabbinic literature regarding the origins of fixed prayer (e.g., compare, *b. Ber.* 33a-b, *b. Meg.* 17b-18a, and *b. Ber.* 26b), the meaning of fixed prayer in general, as well as the clumsy correlation between times of prayer and times of sacrifice, indicate that what is at play is a rhetorical strategy, not accurate historiography. Indeed, there is little evidence, both textual and material, to support the rabbinic claim that their daily prayer service was an ancient tradition from the biblical period. We must recognize that the rabbinic emphasis on the ancient qualities of this practice, its institutionalization by rabbinic forerunners, and its equivalence with sacrificial efficacy serves a rabbinic purpose (cf. S. Reif, "Prayer in Early Judaism," in *Prayer From Tobit to Qumran* [ed. R. Eggner-Wenzel and J. Corely; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004], 439–64). For a discussion of the different purposes and varying strategies of rabbinic historiography, see Y. Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Washington: University of Washington Press, reprint 2005); J. Neusner, *The Idea of History in Rabbinic Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); I. Gafni, "Rabbinic Historiography and Representations of the Past," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (ed. C. E. Fonrobert and M. S. Jaffee; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 295–312; S. Reif, "The Function of History in Early Rabbinic Liturgy," in *History and Identity: How Israel's Later Authors Viewed Its Earlier History, International Society for the Study of Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature. International Conference, 2005, Barcelona, Spain* (ed. N. Calduch-Benages and J. Liesen; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 321–6; S. Schwartz, "Historiography on the Jews in the 'Talmudic Period'," in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (ed. M. Goodman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 79–114.

[58] Cf. P. Trudinger, *The Psalms of the Tamid Service: A Liturgical Text from the Second Temple* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 14ff.; Regev, "The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer in Israel," 5–29; Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 551, n. 86; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 115–6; R. Hammer, "What Did They Bless? A Study of Mishnah Tamid 5.1," *JQR* 81 (1991): 305–24. For further discussion and bibliography see Chapter Two.

reflect a performance of prayer that is theologically motivated in the same way as in post-70 CE Judaism. While the temple stood, prayer was always inferior, mere "decorations" and sayings always on the periphery of the official temple service and never on par with sacrifice.[59]

According to Fleischer, the establishment and function of fixed prayer at Yavneh was conceived at the outset to replace the daily sacrificial cult. Fleischer writes,

> The *shemoneh ʿesreh*, then, does not resemble the kind of prayers uttered by individuals before (and, of course, after) the Destruction; it resembles instead the sacrificial worship conducted by priests in the Sanctuary. The new kind of verbal worship was conceived at Yavneh as a way to offer the nation, in absence of the sacrifices, an alternative form of worshipping God. At the time it was promulgated at Yavneh, the *shemoneh ʿesreh* was an utter innovation on all levels, whether institutional, functional, or theological.[60]

Thus, within 'mainstream' Judaism, Fleischer sees no possible motive for establishing fixed prayer, at least as an obligatory or even encouraged form of worship, while the temple was still standing. Rather, Jews fulfilled their communal obligations of participation through paying the annual half-shekel temple tax.[61]

Fleischer's argument—namely, that temple service must require a replacement—is standard in scholarship for explaining new and innovative practices in post-70 CE Judaism: Jewish communities would need to fill the void created by the absence of such an efficacious institution. When fixed communal prayers were discovered at Qumran, this same logic was adopted by many Qumran scholars—the Qumran community

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[59] Cf. Fleischer, "Obligatory Jewish Prayer," 416–23.

[60] Fleischer, "On the Origins of the *ʿAmidah*," 382. This view contrasts with Zeitlin, "The Tefillah," 236–7, where Zeitlin argues that "The sages had always been opposed to sacrifices. They stressed the importance of prayer. Now, more than ever, they stressed the religious unity of the people. After the destruction of the Temple the sages systemized the prayers, standardizing them for all the people, and set definite times of the day for them morning and afternoon." Zeitlin's view is probably overstated, but the supremacy of prayer and study over sacrifice is apparent in many rabbinic texts. For a discussion of these texts see M. Fishbane, "Substitutes for Sacrifice in Judaism," in *The Exegetical Imagination: On Jewish Thought and Theology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 123–35.

[61] Fleischer, "Obligatory Jewish Prayer," 414, 416–7. The temple tax is often seen to have an atoning effect. Cf. Exod 30:16, *m. Šeqal.* 2.4; 4.1–2, 5, and *t. Šeqal.* 1.6 where atonement is explicitly connected to the giving of the half shekel tax. Also see Josephus, *Ant.* 16.172: "collection of their money (Diaspora Jews) was for sacrifices;" Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.77; Bar 1:10; K. Berger, "Almosen für Israel. Zum historischen Kontext der paulinischen Kollekte," *NTS* 13 (1976–77): 180–204, esp. 183–92.

considered the cultic service of the temple to be invalid and thus replaced sacrifice with fixed prayer.[62]

The hypothesis that fixed prayer was a radical post-70 CE innovation intended to fill the void of cultic worship fits well with what recent synagogue scholarship has concluded about the types of activities that took in the pre-70 CE synagogue. A number of recent studies have shown that there is virtually no evidence that daily fixed prayer (or even prayer on a less than daily basis) was a major component—it was certainly not an obligatory component—in the pre-70 CE synagogue service both in the Diaspora and Judea.[63] Levine, for example,[64] writes:

> With all their diversity, extant sources are unanimous in this respect; as we have seen above, Philo, Josephus, the New Testament, and the Theodotus inscription, and what appear to be early rabbinic traditions speak only of scriptural readings and sermons. None mentions public communal prayer.[65]

Overall, the hypothesis that "prayer replaced sacrifice" as a radical post-70 CE innovation is indeed attractive and alleviates some of the long outstanding problems associated with the origins and history of fixed daily prayer; yet certain aspects have been criticized. Fleischer's weighing of the available Second Temple period evidence is carefully nuanced, but a review of the evidence in rabbinic literature suggests that fixed prayer (as Fleischer defines it) was not created immediately at Yavneh.[66] Rather, what

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[62] As we look back over the history of scholarship, it is salutary to recall that the logic that temple worship must be replaced by an alternative form of worship is what led scholars to argue that the synagogue developed as a replacement to the Temple, a theory which has now been abandoned (cf. Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue*, esp. ch. 2; Cohen, "Temple and Synagogue").

[63] See note 29.

[64] Because a number of Diaspora synagogues are named *proseuche* ("house of prayer"), Levine concedes, much more so than Fleischer, that prayer was more prominent in Diaspora synagogues than in Judea (*The Ancient Synagogue*, 163–4). Zeitlin, "The Tefillah," 231–2, suggests that Jewish places of worship were named *proseuche* in Egypt because *proseuche* was the term sanctioned by the Ptolemies and Romans in the larger Greco-Roman world as legitimate places of worship and asylum, not necessarily because prayer was a primary activity for Jews at this time. Runesson has recently argued that, originally, *proseuche* may have denoted a temple. See Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue*, 429–36.

[65] Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 163–4.

[66] See Kimelman's criticism of Fleischer in "The Literary Structure of the Amidah and the Rhetoric of Redemption," in *The Echoes of Many Texts: Reflections on Jewish and Christian Traditions: Essays in Honor of Lou H. Silberman* (ed. W. Dever and J. Wright; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), 185; cf. also R. Langer, "Revisiting Early Rabbinic Liturgy: The Recent Contributions of Ezra Fleischer," *Prooftexts* 19 (1999): 179–94. See especially p. 191 where she writes, "Most texts of the New Testament reflect the world of late first century and perhaps even early second century. How reliable is this evidence for Second Temple

Fleischer defined as fixed prayer seems to be the end result of an evolving process that probably began in the second century CE, or perhaps a bit earlier, but was not accomplished until centuries later. There is nothing overt in early rabbinic texts to suggest that prayer had replaced sacrifice. A full examination of early rabbinic texts is well beyond the scope of this study, but it is notable that in *m. Berakhot* (e.g. 1.1; 1.2; 4.1), for example, much of the discussion is centered on the synchronization of daily blessings with natural phenomena—sacrificial terminology is not explicitly utilized. The immediate institutionalization of fixed daily prayer as a cultic replacement, which Fleischer suggests to be the underlying reason for its promulgation at Yavneh, does not seem to be found in early rabbinic texts.[67] This is particularly clear with the timing or pattern of daily prayer described in the Mishnah: early rabbis advocate a three-fold pattern of daily prayer whereas the daily sacrifices were performed in the temple only twice daily. The discrepancy strongly suggests that the connection between sacrifice and fixed daily prayer was made secondarily, after a sustained reflection on the cultic meaning of fixed prayer (cf. *b. Ber.* 26b).[68]

Fleischer is certainly correct to point out the differences between pre-70 CE and post-70 CE Judaism; yet his understanding of the origins of fixed prayer is too rigid and espouses an overly monolithic view of Judaism in the second century CE. It also downplays what I hope to demonstrate in this study: that, although fixed daily prayer was explained and accounted for in different ways in the Second Temple period, it was nonetheless a thriving practice at this time, and the cessation of temple worship was not required for its development.

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period Judaism? It is important to note then, that the Yavnean-period synagogue portrayed in the New Testament also apparently lacks formal prayer."

[67] Both Reif and Kimelman concur. Cf. S. Reif, "Prayer in Early Judaism," 439–64; R. Kimelman, "Rabbinic Prayer in Late Antiquity," in vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (ed. S. T. Katz; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 573–608. Kimelman's article lays out at length the historical processes in which prayer, only through centuries of development, came to be seen as a cultic replacement.

[68] See the discussion of times of prayer and sacrifice in Kimelman, "Rabbinic Prayer in Late Antiquity," 573–608.

1.3. *Other Trends and Approaches to the Study of Prayer*

In the preceding review we saw that the traditional study of Jewish liturgy most often drew upon textual, philological, and historical-critical methods. Today, the study of Jewish prayer is in many ways a continuation and refinement of these methods,[69] but there is also a push towards 'interdisciplinary' approaches in which other features of prayer are explored, such as socio-political dimensions, socio-rhetorical strategies, the interaction between liturgy and art, and the act of praying.[70] All of these approaches highlight the fact that within religious communities prayer never remains solely on the page but is performed and experienced. The importance of prayer lies as much in the act of praying as in the words that constitute the text, and as an act, praying contains a number of additional performative elements that must also be considered, such as audience, location, gesture, and the time of prayer. These elements can shed further light on socio-historical questions pertaining to function and motive.[71] The text-focused studies of the past have, ultimately, neglected these other aspects of prayer.

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[69] For form-critical studies, see, for example, B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994); R. Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1998); M. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999); idem, "Form Criticism in Transition: Penitential Prayer and Lament, *Sitz im Leben* and Form," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 1: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. Boda, D. Falk, and R. Werline; Early Judaism and Its Literature 22; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 181–92. For studies focused on philology, see for example, U. Ehrlich and R. Langer, "The Earliest Texts of the Birkat Haminim," *HUCA* (2007): 63–112; S. Reif, "The Second Temple Period, Qumran Research, and Rabbinic Liturgy: Some Contextual and Linguistic Comparisons," in *Liturgical Perspectives*, 133–49.

[70] See for example, T. Zahavy, "A New Approach to Early Jewish Prayer," in *The History of Judaism: The Next Ten Years* (ed. B. Bokser; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 45–60; idem, *The Mishnaic Law of Blessings and Prayers. Tractate Berakhot* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987); idem, "The Politics of Piety: Social Conflict and the Emergence of Rabbinic Liturgy," in *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship* (ed. P. Bradshaw and L. Hoffman; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 42–68; L. Hoffman, *Beyond the Text: A Holistic Approach to Liturgy* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989); S. Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ehrlich, *The Nonverbal Language of Prayer*; R. Kimelman, "The Shema' and Its Rhetoric: The Case for the Shema' Being More than Creation, Revelation, and Redemption," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 2 (1992): 111–56; idem, "The Daily 'Amidah and the Rhetoric of Redemption," *JQR* 79 (1988–89): 165–97.

[71] These aspects have been repeatedly ignored and are only now gaining recognition. See Ehrlich, *The Nonverbal Language of Prayer*; Hoffman, *Beyond the Text*.

Insights from ritual studies are also beginning to be recognized as potentially rich for investigating the different facets of prayer.[72] In 2002, for example, R. Kugler published a programmatic article attempting to bring together the two fields of ritual studies and Qumran liturgy.[73] For this study he followed primarily the work of Catherine Bell, both in her taxonomy of ritual types (i.e. rites of passage, calendrical rites,[74] rites of exchange and communion, rites of affliction, feasting and fasting rites, and political rites),[75] and in her theory regarding the importance of heightened ritual density in certain social groups.[76] According to Bell, through the intensification of existing rituals and the creation of new ones, groups that maintain a ritual density higher than those outside the group do so out of competition or conflicting claims.[77]

Kugler sees Bell's paradigm clearly demonstrated in the Qumran sectarian documents, arguing that the Qumran community's increased ritual density resulted from an effort to compensate for their withdrawal from participating in the cult of the Jerusalem temple. As examples of rituals taken up by the Qumran group that have either been intensified or newly added to their ritual system, Kugler points to such things as the community's assertion of the sole authority of the priest to read scripture in assembly, the exclusion of women and children from the Paschal meal,[78]

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[72] P. Bradshaw and J. Melloh, *Foundations in Ritual Studies* (Grand Rapids: Baker Press, 2007); R. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006); idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and Ritual Studies," in vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context*, 547–62; R. Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131–52; idem, "Of Calendars, Community Rules, and Common Knowledge: Understanding 4QS^{e}-4QOtot, with Help from Ritual Studies," in *Methods and Theories in the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 215–28; D. Stökl Ben Ezra, "When the Bell Rings: The Qumran Rituals of Affliction in Context," in vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context*, 533–46.

[73] Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious."

[74] Within calendrical rites, there are two additional categories: commemorative rites and seasonal observances. Commemorative rituals evoke past events and allow the group to identify with this past. Rites based on seasonal observances regulate a group with God's divine law of time as demonstrated by the cosmos (Bell, *Ritual*, 102–8). As Kugler notes, the two types, in fact, are often merged in ancient Jewish practice in which seasonal observances are usually combined with commemorative rites (Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious," 143); see also Stökl Ben Ezra who highlights the multivalent meaning of rituals and rites and some potential problems of utilizing Bell's six types ("When the Bell Rings," 536–42).

[75] Bell, *Ritual*, 91–137.

[76] "Ritual density" is a term Kugler uses from Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*.

[77] Bell, *Ritual*, 205–9.

[78] Kugler cites Josephus, *J.W.* 6.426 for comparison, a text which excludes only lepers, gonorrheics, and menstruantes ("Making All Experience Religious," 149, n. 83). Cf.

the community's extensive induction rite (1QS I–III), an expansive festival calendar,[79] Sabbath restrictions (which were seemingly more severe than other groups), and a certain hypersensitivity to coordinate their calendar with God's divine measure of time.[80] Thus, Kugler sees this process of ritual intensification as hegemonic, reinforcing the community's own sense of self-identity and further differentiating themselves from other groups.

In 2006 Russell Arnold expanded in a book-length study Kugler's initial attempt to combine Bell's work on ritual with the Qumran sectarian documents.[81] Arnold dedicated each chapter to one of Bell's ritual types. Regarding daily prayer, Arnold argues that the group had a particular concern to follow God's divine law of time that is evinced by their extensive calendar:

> Without their prayer and obedience, God's cosmic order would not be upheld. These daily reminders of the calendar's details also fortified the community's communal identity, as God's chosen and faithful people, in contradistinction to the Temple leadership who had abandoned the true calendar.[82]

Arnold's discussion of the calendar reminds us that times of prayer can be useful for creating social cohesion and group identity. Different examples of such a function can be easily found in a wide range of religious texts. In the *Didache*, for example, changes in calendar were made precisely for the purpose of differentiating communities: the pinnacle of the week was moved from Saturday to Sunday, fast days were moved from Tuesday and Thursday to Wednesday and Friday. *Did.* 8.2 states explicitly: "Pray not with the hypocrites; Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites."[83] More generally too, we can think of the weekly cycle in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, all of which culminate on different days of the week. Or, in

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J. Baumgarten, "265. 4QMiscellaneous Rules," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (ed. J. Baumgarten et al.; DJD XXXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 63.

[79] Kugler offers the calendar from the Temple Scroll (11Q19) as evidence. For example, in this scroll the first day of the month of the year was celebrated with rest and, in theory, sacrifice (11Q19 XIV–XV), the new year began with a seven-day priestly consecration ceremony (XV 3–XVII 5), the Waving of the Omer festival was turned into a Festival of New Barley (XVIII 10), and every fifty days following this festival they celebrated the Feasts of First Wheat, Wine, and Oil (11Q19 XVIII 10–XIX 9, XIX 11–XXI 10, XIX 12–23).

[80] Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious," 149–52.

[81] Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy*.

[82] Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy*, 130.

[83] Cf. W. Horbury's article, "Early Christians on Synagogue Prayer and Imprecation," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity* (ed. G. Stanton and G. Stroumsa; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 305–17.

certain circumstances, it is the time of daily prayer in relation to sunrise that has served to differentiate religious communities.[84]

In Second Temple period Judaism, however, we find few, if any, *explicit* statements regarding the use of daily prayer times as a means of conveying group identity. In the course of this thesis, however, I will demonstrate that it is not necessarily prayer times *per se* that contribute to group identity, but the distinctive meaning that was attached to certain times. This is sometimes subtle and indirect, but I suggest that the meaning invested in times of prayer nonetheless contributed to the formation of different groups. Moreover, with respect to heightened ritual in the Qumran community I will argue that the daily prayer practices of the Qumran community were more extensive than other patterns, and that this functioned to set them apart from other Jews of the Second Temple period.

2. Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism: A Way Forward

This study is ultimately concerned with the question of the origins and development of fixed daily prayer. It fits within the interests of the recent scholarly trends and approaches to the study of prayer that were just reviewed—i.e. it is focused less on text-critical issues of prayer texts and more on examining prayer as a practice. More specifically, the goals of this study are to investigate the hours fixed for daily prayer, to determine how and why these prayer patterns developed, and to trace the different

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[84] See for example, *t. Ber.* 7.6: "He who pronounces a blessing over the sun follows a heterodoxy." Saul Lieberman suggested that this passage refers to the Essenes in light of Josephus' statement that they performed an invocation of the sun as if "entreating it to rise" (*J.W.* 2.8.5). See S. Lieberman, "Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 20 (1951): 395–404. Clearly the issue in *t. Ber.* 7.6 is the content of the blessing over the sun and its prohibition. Yet, might the timing of prayer at sunrise also be a factor? As a comparative example, see U. Rubin, "Morning and Evening Prayers in Early Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 40–64. He notes numerous examples of early Islamic texts imploring Muslims to pray either before or after sunrise and sunset so as not to pray at the same times that Jews or Christians prayed. Delaying morning prayer until the disappearance of the stars at dawn was sometimes condemned as a Christian practice (p. 59); likewise Muslims were cautioned that the evening *salat al-ʿasr* prayer may appear to be similar to the Jewish *minhah* (p. 54). One Muslim commentator recommends to pray, "when the knuckles are excessively hot" (i.e. after the sun has risen and warmed the ground), and "when shadows disappear" (p. 53).

ways in which the practice of daily prayer was understood already in the Second Temple period.

Past studies have given only modest attention to determining how and why particular times of the day were established for praying. This lack of interest is somewhat surprising since fixed hours are essential for the routinized performance of prayer. There are perhaps two reasons for this gap. First, the existence of fixed prayer in ancient Judaism has often been tacitly assumed since it is commonplace in many of today's religious traditions. As noted above, however, there is little evidence in the Hebrew Bible of fixed daily prayer or of ritualized prayer in general, either in terms of legislation for when one ought to pray, or legislation setting out the exact content of daily prayer. Sacrifice is the preeminent form of worship in this literature. This contrasts sharply with the extended discussions and examples of appropriate times for daily prayer in rabbinic literature (see, e.g. note 95). Such discussions indicate the growing importance of fixed prayer in rabbinic groups and also the attempt to categorize it and explain its importance. They also indicate that for rabbinic Jews the importance of fixed prayer times was not always self-evident, and that fixed daily prayer was a practice that needed to be explained and justified. Or, at the very least, if at its origins the timing of fixed prayer was understood intuitively, as fixed prayer grew in importance so did the necessity of explaining its origins and development.[85] The need to explain and legitimize fixed daily prayer as an important religious practice is not found only in rabbinic literature, but already in the Second Temple period—and it is this earliest stage that I am investigating in this study.

Secondly, scholars that study fixed daily prayer in the Second Temple period often assume that only one diurnal pattern of daily prayer existed—morning and evening—and that this pattern was pervasive both in sectarian and non-sectarian contexts.[86] Recently the diurnal pattern has been

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[85] The question of when one should pray extended well past the gaonic period. See, for example, J. Katz, "Alternations in the Time of the Evening Service (*Ma'ariv*): An Example of the Interrelationship between Religious Customs and the Social Background," in *Divine Law in Human Hands: Case Studies in Halachic Flexibility* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1998), 88–127, and the literature cited there. For a 'history of religions' perspective see also chapters three and four in G. Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformations in Late Antiquity* (trans. Susan Emanuel; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), where Stroumsa examines the end of public sacrifice and in its place the rise of the internalization and privatization of religion, including prayer.

[86] See, e.g., Schiffman, "Early History;" Chazon, "When Did They Pray?" 50; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 47; idem, "Jewish Prayer Literature and the Jerusalem

nuanced somewhat by such scholars as Falk and Chazon; they have argued that in Second Temple period Judaism two different diurnal patterns of daily prayer existed, one based on the daily pattern of cultic sacrifice in the morning and late afternoon, and one based on natural, astronomical time at sunrise and sunset.[87] Yet, after recognizing these two distinct patterns, Chazon proposes that the distinction between natural (i.e. astronomical) and sacrificial time probably did not exist in reality—sacrificial times were meant to correspond with natural cosmological time. She thus diminishes any potential significance in the fact that two different patterns of prayer were operative.[88] Falk's position differs slightly; he maintains that these two patterns remained distinct in Second Temple period Judaism and then were combined in rabbinic Judaism to form the conventional three-fold pattern of prayer, morning, afternoon, and evening.[89] He too, however, does not attempt to explain the significance of these two different prayer patterns.

A close examination of the evidence from the Second Temple period indicates a much more complicated picture: when surveying the sources, we find a variety of different fixed daily prayer patterns—prayer once a day, twice a day, prayer during the night, and prayer four times daily. In the pages that follow, I will locate and describe the various patterns of daily times that Jews prayed in the Second Temple period so as to provide an adequate account of the *realia* of fixed daily prayer in the Second Temple period.

Along with these different patterns, we also find subtle variations in the way fixed prayer is accounted for and given significance. Different exegetical strategies and etiologies emerge in the Second Temple period to explain the importance and rationale for daily prayer, and I will discuss

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Church in Acts," in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (ed. R. Bauckham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 293–8; Weinfeld, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice;" idem, "Prayers for Knowledge, Repentance and Forgiveness;" idem, "Traces of Kedushat Yotzer and Pesukey De-Zimra;" idem, "Morning Prayers at Qumran." Prayer in the morning and evening was also popular in Greek religion. See S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 156–64.

87 Chazon, "When Did They Pray?" 50; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 47; idem, "Jewish Prayer Literature and the Jerusalem Church in Acts," 293–8; E. P. Sanders also notes this possibility: "There is a good deal of evidence for prayer twice daily. Two different religious practices encouraged prayer both early and later: the saying of the Shema (when you lie down and when you rise up) and the beginning and closing of the temple service" (*Jewish Law*, 74).

88 Chazon, "When Did They Pray?" 50.

89 Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 47; idem, "Jewish Prayer Literature and the Jerusalem Church in Acts," 293–8.

these as part of the broader project of cataloguing different prayer patterns. To do this, I will look for some theoretical guidance in Mary Douglas' book, *How Institutions Think*, in which she seeks to understand how and why social groups are able to coordinate systems of shared knowledge and action to form institutions.[90]

Douglas defines an institution as a legitimized social "grouping" (i.e., "a family, a game, or a ceremony"),[91] the function of which is to encode information, to help individuals organize knowledge and make decisions.[92] She explains that, ultimately, in order for an institution to form and survive, to be more than a mere social convention, it cannot be understood to be a "purely instrumental or a practical arrangement that is recognized as such."[93] Rather, the institution must come to be seen somehow as "naturalized," by which the formal structures of the institution correspond with, or are made analogous to, formal structures in non-human realms, "in the physical world, or in the supernatural world, or in eternity, anywhere, so long as it is not seen as a socially contrived arrangement."[94] In other words, new institutions achieve legitimacy when they are understood by those involved as grounded in a natural or supernatural etiology rather than a purely social production. They can be imagined, for example,

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[90] M. Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986). This book presupposes much of the theoretical work she did in *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1970; repr., London: Routledge, 2003).

[91] Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, 46.

[92] Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, 46–9.

[93] Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, 46.

[94] Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, 45–53. See especially pages 46–7, "Most established institutions, if challenged, are able to rest their claims of legitimacy on their fit with the nature of the universe. A convention is institutionalized when, in reply to the question, 'Why do you do it like this?' although the first answer may be framed in terms of mutual convenience, in response to further questioning the final answer refers to the way the planets are fixed in the sky or the way that plants or humans or animals naturally behave." I would add that the final answer would also refer to the way one *ought* to behave.

In his phenomenological study of prayer, Fredrick Heiler observes that fixed prayer develops when closely connected to "definite ritual acts," i.e. ritual acts already well-established (Heiler, *Prayer*, 66). While Heiler does not use terms such as "naturalization" or "analogy" to discuss the processes by which new institutions develop, his understanding of how fixed prayer develops nonetheless coheres with Douglas' discussion of institutional development. See also Al Baumgarten, "Invented Traditions of the Maccabean Era," 197–210. In this article Baumgarten explores the social function and purpose of invented tradition in ancient Judaism by way of two examples, the half sheqel temple tax, and the recitation of the Shema. Like Douglas, Baumgarten points out that new religion practices must be seen as an extension of old tradition, thus, a blending of the 'old' with the 'new,' although Douglas takes this principle back even further to mythic origins of society to solve the tension between innovation and tradition.

to originate from precedents set by those ancestors "on the other side of life," or by religious leaders in touch with the divine, or by mirroring some cosmic principle.

The processes at play in the formation of institutions are also at play in the formation of fixed daily prayer, and so Douglas' theoretical work on institutions is helpful for examining the development of fixed daily prayer in ancient Judaism. Despite the fact that fixed daily prayer was never legislated in the Torah, the evidence examined in this study indicates that, in the Second Temple period, Jews were able to integrate fixed daily prayers into their worship practices by establishing "naturalizing" etiologies by, 1) making prayer analogous to the already-existing pattern of daily cultic sacrifice, or 2) by rooting daily prayer within Israel's mythic past (e.g. the patriarchs and/or Torah), or 3) by anchoring times of daily prayer to seemingly analogous structures within the cosmos.[95]

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[95] Some obvious examples of "naturalizing" etiologies pertaining to prayer can be found in rabbinic literature. In *b. Meg*. 17b–18a (cf. *b. Ber.* 28b), for example, R. Johanan, uncomfortable with the prospect that the Amidah originated as a post-biblical invention, reports an anonymous baraita that one hundred and twenty elders instituted the prayer, but also that the Amidah was subsequently forgotten and reorganized at Yabneh under the direction of R. Gamliel:

> To the Tefillah ('Amidah prayer). When is this derived? It has been taught (תפלה מנא לן: דתניא) 'Simeon the Pakulite' formulated (הסדיר) eighteen blessings in the presence of Rabban Gamaliel in the order (הסדר) at Jabneh. R. Johanan said, others said it was stated in a baraita [ואמרי לה במתניתא תנא] that: A hundred and twenty elders, among whom were many prophets, established (תיקנו) eighteen blessings in the order (הסדר).

Seeing now that one hundred and twenty elders, among whom were many prophets, established the eighteen blessings in the proper order (תקנו תפלה על הסדר), why did 'Simeon the Pakulite' formulate (הסדיר) them?—They were forgotten, and he formulated them (שכחום וחזר וסדרום). (Soncino ed.)

Just as the origins of the prayers were grounded in ancestral heritage, so too were the daily times that prayers ought to be performed. In *t. Ber*. 3.6, times of prayer were set following the example set by Israel's ancestors, Daniel (Dan 6:11) and David (Ps 55:18). In *y. Ber*. 4.1 (and *b. Ber*. 26b), Rabbi Joshua ben Levi posits that prayer times were set according to a precedent established by the Patriarchs: Abraham prayed in the morning (Gen 19:27), Isaac in the afternoon (Gen 24:63), and Jacob in the evening (Gen 28:11). In the same text (i.e. *y. Ber*. 4.1 [7a–b]), however, Rabbi Samuel bar Nahmani appeals to the natural cycles of the day as a guideline for times of daily prayer: "From where did they learn the three prayers? Rabbi Samuel bar Nahmani said, 'According to the three times that the day changes for man.'" (Guggenheimer ed.)

The most common analogy was made between times of prayer and times of cultic sacrifice. Already in *t. Ber*. 3.1 a three-fold pattern of prayer is fixed according to the institution of daily sacrifice in the Jerusalem temple, whereby morning and afternoon prayer correlates with the tamid sacrifice, and evening prayer correlates with the limbs and fat pieces of the evening tamid sacrifice as they burn through the night. *T. Ber.* 3.1 rules that evening prayer has no fixed time, just as the limbs and fat pieces of the evening tamid

I will demonstrate that the various etiologies and exegetical strategies used to underline the importance of daily prayer contributed to the establishment of three different patterns of daily prayer: 1) the daily cultic services of the Jerusalem temple provided a pattern on which daily prayer could be anchored, 2) sacred scripture was used to develop a biblical warrant for fixed daily prayer, and 3) the regular cycles of the heavenly luminaries that were divinely established at creation provided a vertible pattern for the timing of daily prayer for some Jews. Each of the three patterns of daily prayer will be treated in turn in the first three chapters of the study. The last two chapters expand on the pattern of daily prayer discussed in Chapter Three. In Chapter Four I will examine a calendar of daily fixed prayer times in 1QS IX 26b–X 8a and 1QH^a XX 7–14a that is based on the cycles of the luminaries, but unlike the usual diurnal pattern of daily prayer that I have outlined in Chapter Three, this calendar has been expanded to include prayer four times daily, morning, midday, evening, and midnight. In Chapter Five I will demonstrate that the practice of nocturnal prayer is also dependent on the cycles of the luminaries and developed from the same cosmological *Weltbild*.

Thus in each chapter of the study I will focus on different prayer patterns and the reasons underlying these variations. Even when times of daily prayer may look the same, the primary sources reveal subtle differences in how daily prayer was understood and how its purpose was articulated. Further, the variation of prayer patterns and the meaning invested in them have implications for the question of social location and provide opportunity to ask if different groups or social settings fostered or emphasized different times for prayer.

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sacrifice burned throughout the night, although in *t. Ber.* 3.2 R. Eleazar b. R. Yose recalls that his father would recite the evening prayer at the closing of the temple gates. See also *y. Ber.* 4.1; *b. Ber.* 26b.

CHAPTER ONE

SACRIFICE AND DAILY PRAYER

1. Introduction

For a practice such as daily fixed prayer where the origins are difficult to discern, Mary Douglas' theoretical perspective on institutional origins and formation can provide some guidance and help frame this investigation.[1] Drawing on her theoretical framework, we should expect that before daily prayer would have become a well-established and accepted institution, those interested in it would have attempted to make the times for prayer analogous to structures already entrenched within, and integral to, Jewish daily life. In this chapter I will argue that this is the case; we do find examples of descriptions of spontaneous prayers in ancient Jewish texts (i.e., prayer that has not been 'fixed,' but is *ad hoc* and dependent on the circumstances of the one praying)[2] that were nonetheless performed at specific times of the day—this despite the fact that scripture does not prescribe set times for prayer.[3] In these examples the times for prayer correspond to the fixed times prescribed for the daily cultic service as established by Moses at Sinai (Exod 29:38–39; Num 28:3–4: בבקר, בין הערבים).[4]

The purpose of this chapter is to look at a wide range of early sources that indicate a coordination between the fixed hours of sacrifice and prayer. In the discussion of these sources, I will highlight a 'collective knowledge and practice' about when and why one should pray that was formed by an analogy to daily cultic sacrifice. This correlation between prayer and sacrifice, I will suggest, not only encouraged the development of daily fixed

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[1] M. Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 45–53.

[2] See note 2 in the Introduction for a discussion of the terms "spontaneous" and "fixed."

[3] Biblical legislation mandates the blowing of trumpets over the sacrifices during festivals (cf. Num 10:10). Recited word is only mandated for specific occasions, such as the confession of sin over an individual sin-offerings (Lev 5:5) and the confession of communal sin on Yom Kippur (Lev 16:21). Regular fixed prayer was never legislated in Torah and was not recited in the temple. See further discussion in section 1.5. (for other example of prayer prescribed for special circumstances, see Deut 21:6–9; 26:3–10, 13–15).

[4] Regarding the expression בין הערבים, see note 18.

practice, but it also laid the groundwork for the eventual transfiguration of prayer *as* sacrifice after the temple was destroyed in 70 CE.

I have laid out the chapter to present cogently the descriptions of prayer in relation to sacrifice that are scattered widely in texts formed in diverse chronological, geographical, and social settings. First (section 2. "Spontaneous Prayer and Times of Sacrifice") I will discuss evidence for the phenomenon of praying alongside prescribed daily sacrifices, either in physical proximity to sacrifice or at the time that daily sacrifices were prescribed. The passages considered in this section indicate that even though times for prayer were not given divine, apodictic sanction in Torah, there was some understanding that the times for daily sacrifices were amenable for prayer, and that, although never explicitly stated, it was desirable to recite 'spontaneous prayer' at these set times.

Second (section 3. "Descriptions of Times of Prayer in the Psalms"), I will look at passages that mention times of prayer in the biblical Psalter and ask whether they provide further evidence of a general practice of prayer alongside sacrifice, or whether they contain descriptions of prayer times that pertain to a specific literary form and *Sitz im Leben* and thus a limited context. The answer to this question will help to determine the relevance of these passages for the discussion of the development of fixed daily prayer in the Second Temple period.

Third (section 4. "Daily Prayer in the Temple"), I will look at daily psalmody in the temple where we see for the first time a deliberate attempt to reflect on the origins of this service and an overt effort to legitimize its existence as an essential component of the temple cult. I will suggest that such a reflection further indicates the growing importance of a daily service that involved verbal worship.

Finally, given the strong connection between prayer and sacrifice, and given that the temple was the central hub for daily cultic activities, I will discuss in section 5. "The Influence of the Temple in the Development of Daily Fixed Prayer" the possible impact the temple had on the development of fixed daily prayer. As I discuss the relationship between prayer and sacrifice I will highlight some of the theological underpinnings associated with sacrifice that made sacrifice and sacrificial times attractive for praying.

2. Spontaneous Prayer and Times of Sacrifice

The religious impulse to communicate with the divine often leads to spontaneous moments of praise or lament.[5] Yet, these unplanned moments of prayer are rarely unaffected by the tendency to make the words and the practice of prayer conform to preconceived social conventions about the appropriate and effective ways of praying.[6] A cursory glance at any prayer within a biblical narrative will indicate that fixed formulas, gestures, location, and times for recitation all influenced even the most spontaneous of prayers.

Along with these conventional forms of praying, one also quickly notices that the primacy of the sacrificial service as a mode of engaging with the divine had a substantial impact on how prayer was performed in ancient Israel/Judaism.[7] That sacrifice guided the mechanics of how one prayed is

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[5] For a discussion of praise and lament as the two most basic responses to God, see C. Westermann's book *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (trans. K. Crim and R. Soulen; Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1981).

[6] For further analysis of this argument, see M. Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer As a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983); J. Newman, *Praying By the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999), 221–22, and note 2 in the Introduction.

[7] While prayer was always subordinate to sacrifice, the relationship between prayer and sacrifice is nevertheless one of reciprocity. Prayer can clarify the meaning of the sacrifice, and, reciprocally, sacrifice can add further weight to prayer and its effectiveness. Prayers prescribed to be said alongside sacrifice are clearly illustrative of this relationship. In Lev 5:5, for example, reparatory confession is prescribed when a sin offering is made; the words prescribed for the giving of first-fruits and tithes are meant to indicate the intention of worshipper (cf. Deuteronomy 26, esp. vv. 13–15). This elucidative function of prayer is also utilized in the narrative world of biblical retellings where prayers have been added to biblical episodes, which, prior to their retelling, contain only sacrifice. Prayers in this context, much like in 'real life,' work to elucidate the feelings, the intentions, and the beliefs of the characters within the story. For illuminating examples and discussion of this narrative function of prayer in Josephus' retelling of bible, see T. Jonquière, *Prayer in Josephus* (Ancient Judaism and Christianity 70; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

Other biblical passages indicate that sacrifice added further weight to prayer. In Judg 20:26–28, for example, we see that after the Israelites gathered publicly at the temple in Bethel, they made sacrifices and 'inquired of the Lord' (see also Judg 21:1–4). We find another example in 1 Sam 7:9 where the prophet Samuel sacrificed a burnt offering and cried out to the Lord. On the relationship between prayer and sacrifice more generally, see the discussion of E. Regev, "The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer in Israel: Causes and Processes in the Development of Prayer During the Second Temple Period," *Zion* 70 (2005): 5–29, esp. 18–23; see also G. A. Anderson, "The Praise of God as a Cultic Evident," in *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel* (ed. G. A. Anderson and S. M. Olyan; JSOTSup 125; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 15–33; Cf. M. Greenberg, "On the Refinement of the Conception of Prayer in the Hebrew Bible," *AJS Review* 1 (1976): 57–92; S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 156–64.

particularly evident when we look at the times of the day that spontaneous prayer was recited. We see from a variety of both geographically and chronologically diverse texts that spontaneous prayer was often recited in conjunction with, or timed according to, the sacrifices of the daily cultic services.[8] Within the daily service, the *minḥah* sacrifice in particular was often described as efficacious.[9] In 1 Kgs 18:37, for example, Elijah cries to the Lord "Answer me!" at the time of the evening sacrifice (1 Kgs 18:36: עלות המנחה),[10] and God responded with the necessary fire to consume his sacrifice (1 Kgs 18:38). This contrasts with the opposing prophets who were unable to gain the attention of Baal through their prayers and sacrifices (also עלות המנחה): "But there was not a sound; no one answered, and no one was listening" (1 Kgs 18:29).[11]

Even when it is not offered, sacrifice continued to provide a framework for how to pray. A text exemplary of this relationship is Ps 141:2, where, although still clearly subordinate to sacrifice, prayer is said at the time of the evening *minḥah* offering:

> Let my prayer be counted as incense (תפלתי קטרת) before you,
> and the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice (מנחת ערב).

In my view, the literary equation of prayer and incense in this verse reflects a deeper cultic *realia* of the relationship between prayer and incense used in the daily sacrificial service.[12] I will discuss the significance of this rela-

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[8] The texts surveyed in this section are primarily narrative descriptions about praying, not prayer texts *per se*, and are thus subject to the narrative and literary aims of the author. It is possible that these aims would not reflect an accurate portrayal of common religious practice across ancient Israel society. Since, however, the sources that I discuss are geographically and chronological diverse and consistently correlate spontaneous prayer with fixed times of sacrifice, I believe that the evidence surveyed does provide a window to a religious practice widely adopted in ancient Israel/Judaism. For a similar argument, see Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer*.

[9] Cf. Exod 29:38–42; Lev 2; 6:7–16; Num 15:1–10; 28:1–8.

[10] The term *minḥah* מנחה means generally gift, tribute, or offering. Under priestly influence the term took on a technical significance and was known as the grain offering that was mixed with oil and incense, and was sacrificed along with the daily *tamid* sacrifice (Num 15). It could also stand alone as a sacrifice that could be offered by anyone independent of animal sacrifice (Lev 2). In the Elijah episode the term indicates sacrifice in general, as in 2 Kgs 3:20, 1 Sam 2:17, 29, and 26:19. See below for further discussion of the term.

[11] In MT 1 Kgs 18:29 the prophets of Baal worship at the altar from morning until the time of the burnt *minḥah*, i.e. until the time of the evening sacrifice ("Midday passed, they continued to prophecy until the time of the evening sacrifice [my translation];" ויהי כעבר הצהרים ויתנבאו עד לעלות המנחה; in LXX "toward evening" [τὸ δειλινόν]).

[12] Most commentators view this psalm as 'post-exilic.' Some have suggested that because Ps 141 contains wisdom elements its *Sitz im Leben* is non-cultic. Wisdom, how-

tionship in greater detail below;[13] here, I simply want to note that the daily sacrifices included incense, which explains the parallel in Ps 141:2 and in other scriptural texts (see note 22 and 26; cf. Isa 1:13; 43:23; 66:3; Jer 41:5; Neh 13:4–9).[14]

The lament genre of Ps 141 coincides well with other descriptions of spontaneous prayers said in response to situations of distress or penitence at the time of the evening sacrifice. Perhaps the author of Ezra had in mind Ps 141:2 when he describes Ezra's lament in front of the Jerusalem temple in Ezra 9:5: Ezra rose in his "wretchedness," and with cloak and mantle torn he fell to his knees, stretched out his hands, and prayed to God at the time of the evening *minḥah* sacrifice. A similar setting is described in Dan 9:21, where the setting of the evening *minḥah* offering is favored as a time for prayer and revelation. Here, after Daniel offers penitential supplication to God, he receives a vision from Gabriel at the time of the evening sacrifice (מנחת ערב).[15] Judith too prays at the time of the evening incense sacrifice in response to a distressing situation:

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ever, is not exclusionary of a cultic setting, and, given the prominence of psalms in cultic settings, there is no reason why we should not include this psalm within a temple setting. See the discussion in L. Allen, *Psalms 101–150* (WBC 21; Waco, TX: Word, 1983), 272–4.

[13] Incense was, of course, widely used in the ancient world and an important part of the worship of any cultic system. In ancient Israel incense was included in virtually every sacrifice; a separate altar reserved only for incense was included inside the Jerusalem temple (cf. Lev 16:13). See K. Nielsen, *Incense in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

[14] In the daily sacrificial service as recorded in Exod 29:38–42, Num 15:1–10, and 28:1–8, the *minḥah* sacrifice does not include incense, whereas the instructions for the *minḥah* in Leviticus 2 specify its inclusion. The daily service in Lev 6:8 (15) also records the inclusion of incense. In other accounts of the daily sacrifice, incense is clearly an important ingredient, although at times it seems to have been mixed with the entire sacrifice, not just the flour of the *minḥah*. E.g., see: *Jub.* 6:3 ("He . . . put frankincense on everything"); 7:4–5; 15:2; 32:4–6; *Aramaic Levi Document* 8:6 (הקטיר עליהון לבונה); 9:14–16. M. Himmelfarb suggests that the "recurrent references to *riaḥ-nihoaḥ* (pleasing odor) for the sacrifices could provide support for the view that the *minḥaḥ* accompanying animal sacrifices should include incense despite its absence in Exod 29:38–42 and Num 15:1–10 (see M. Himmelfarb, "Earthly Sacrifice and Heavenly Incense: The Law of the Priesthood in *Aramaic Levi* and *Jubilees*," in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* [ed. R. Boustan and A. Reed; Cambrideg: Cambridge University Press, 2004], 111).

[15] R. Werline sees praying at the time of the evening sacrifice to be significant for Daniel's own context as a means of subverting Antiochus' ruling power and maintaining the divine order of the cosmos (in "Prayer, Politics and Social Vision in Daniel 9," in *Seeking the Favor of God. Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism* [ed. M. Boda, D. Falk, and R. Werline; Early Judaism and Its Literature 22; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007], 28). While I acknowledge that perhaps Daniel's actions subtly subvert foreign political rule by reaffirming the Jerusalem cult, praying at the time of the evening *minḥah* is a common motif (Ezra 9:5; Jdt 9:1; Ps 141:2), which suggests that Daniel is motivated more by a certain theological understanding about prayer and its effectiveness at the time of sacrifice, and less a desire to subvert foreign rule. We

> Then Judith prostrated herself, put ashes on her head, and uncovered the sackcloth she was wearing. At the very time when the evening incense was being offered in the house of God in Jerusalem, Judith cried out to the Lord with a loud voice . . . (Jdt 9:1)

In times of national calamity spontaneous communal prayer likewise took place at the time of the daily sacrificial service as we see in Jdt 4:11–15 and 2 Macc 14:31–36.[16]

All of the examples of praying at the time of the daily sacrifices just cited fit within our definition of 'spontaneous prayer,' since those praying were doing so in response to a specific (and often calamitous) situation (see Introduction). The same correlation between spontaneous prayer and sacrifice is evident in Luke-Acts, although here prayer is not recited in response to specific circumstances, but rather, prayer seems to be part of the regular course of pious activity for the Jerusalem public. While prayer in Luke-Acts is circumstantial—that is, prayer is performed in relation to specific events within the narrative—those praying often follow a schedule that is related to the temple cult.[17] In Luke 1:10, for example, worshippers gathered outside the temple to pray while Zachariah performed the incense sacrifice inside the temple (we are not told if it is the morning or evening service): "And when the time for the burning of the incense came, all the assembled worshippers were praying outside."

In Acts 3:1 Peter and John ascend to the temple at the ninth hour (3pm). The author of Acts describes this time as the 'hour of prayer,' which alerts us to the purpose of Peter and John's trip, and it also signals to us the widespread practice of praying at the hour of the daily evening sacrifice.[18]

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must also note that only in the literary world of Dan 9:21 is Daniel praying outside the temple precincts. Chapters 7–12 were likely written in Palestine, perhaps even Jerusalem. The close proximity to the Jerusalem cult would have influenced the time of day in which Daniel prays (evening *minḥah*). This contrasts with chs. 1–6, written at an earlier time in the eastern Diaspora, and in which Daniel prays three times a day, presumably, morning, midday, and evening (6:11)—a prayer pattern that does not seem to be reflected in 9:21. For the two settings of Daniel see J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993), 269; idem, "Daniel and His Social World," *Interpretation* 39 (1985): 131–43.

[16] 2 Macc 3:15, 20 describes the temple priests prostrating themselves before the altar in Jerusalem in response to Heliodorus' attempt to ransack the temple, but the text does not mention explicitly whether this supplication took place during a sacrificial service.

[17] Cf. J. Fitzmyer's discussion of prayer in Luke-Acts in, *The Gospel According to Luke (I–IX): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28; New York: Doubleday, 1981), 244ff.

[18] In Exod 29:39 and Num 28:3–4 the time for the daily evening sacrifice is בין הערבים ("between the evenings"). Just what the phrase refers to is difficult to know, as 'time' in this period in history had not yet developed into an abstract concept that could be quantified (see S. Stern, *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* [Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish

That the author of Luke-Acts had in mind a correlation between prayer and the evening *minḥah* sacrifice is made explicit in the Cornelius episode in Acts 10:1–4. Here we read that at the ninth hour Cornelius received a vision in which an angel tells him that his prayers (and almsgiving) have gone up "as a memorial offering before God" (cf. also Acts 10:30). Luke's reference of a "memorial offering" to describe Cornelius' prayers recalls the same term used to describe the *minḥah* offering as a "memorial portion" (אזכרה: cf. Lev 2:2, 9, 16; 6:8 [15]).[19] The term "memorial portion" is used also in conjunction with the incense offering that is part of the ritual of the temple bread in Lev 24:5–9 (v. 7: לאזכרה). Because incense is the common ingredient in both the *minḥah* and temple bread sacrifice, it stands to reason that it is the presence of incense in these sacrifices that allows them to be considered a "memorial portion," the pleasing odour of which ascends and causes God to "remember" the one sacrificing/praying (cf. also Sir 38:11; 45:16).

In light of the texts just surveyed, the question arises: Why pray at the time of the daily sacrifices, and why the daily *minḥah* sacrifice specifically? Generally, it seems that the preeminence and potency of sacrifice gave added weight to the performance of prayer. More specifically, however, those praying in coordination with the *minḥah* sacrifice did so because 1) the *minḥah* sacrifice contained incense, the burning of which was a high-point in the daily service, and 2) the *minḥah* sacrifice had widespread popularity.

1) According to Leviticus 2 the *minḥah* offering consisted of a mixture of cereal, oil, and incense (לבונה), and was included in the daily whole burnt offering (Exod 29:38–42; Lev 2; 6:7–23; Num 15:1–10; 28:1–8). But, while a *minḥah* offering was performed daily with the whole burnt offering, and

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Civilization, 2003]). In the Second Temple period the phrase בין הערבים seems to have been interpreted as the beginning of the last third of the day, which starts at the ninth hour (i.e. 3pm; cf. *Jub.* 49:19). In *Ant.* 14.65, Josephus likely has in mind Exod 29:39 and Num 28:3–4 when he mentions that the daily sacrifices took place "in the morning and about the ninth hour" (i.e. 3pm). For a discussion of ancient concepts of time, see J. Pederson, *Israel: Its Life and Culture I–II* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), 489; S. Stern, *Time and Process*; R. Hannah, *Time in Antiquity* (Sciences of Antiquity; London: Routledge, 2009). For a more general discussion of time, see A. Borst, *The Ordering of Time: From Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer* (trans. A. Winnard; Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[19] See L. T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Sacra Pagina 5; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 183; F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), 216; D. Hamm, "Praying 'Regularly' (not 'Constantly'): A Note on the Cultic Background of *dia pantos* at Luke 24:53, Acts 10:2 and Hebrews 9:6, 13:15," *ExpTim* 116 (2004): 50–2.

while both were considered a "soothing odour" (ריח ניחוח) before God (e.g. Gen 8:21; Exod 29:18; Lev 1:9, 13), the *minḥah* had a status different than the daily burnt offering. Leviticus repeatedly states that the *minḥah* was considered "a most holy part of the offerings made to the Lord by fire," something which is not said of the whole burnt offering (Lev 2:3, 6:14–17, esp. v. 17).[20] The *minḥah* sacrifice was also regarded as the 'memorial portion' of the offering and was pleasing to God (אזכרה; Lev 2:2, 9, 16; 5:12; 6:8 [15]; Isa 66:3 [מזכיר לבונה]). This was not only because the *minḥah* was considered a gift,[21] but it also contained a mixture of incense that was especially pleasing and thus had the effect of generating divine goodwill towards the worshipper.[22] Thus we see that when incense is present, the offering has an anamnestic quality that garnered divine attention (cf. Lev 2:2, 9, 16; 6:8 [15], 24:7). Exod 30:34–36 further demonstrates the significance of incense by stating that when incense is placed before the tent of meeting, God will meet Israel. It was this auspicious fragrance that heightened the effectiveness of prayer.

The specialness and popularity of incense no doubt attracted worshippers to pray at the time that incense was offered during the daily sacrifices. The importance of the relationship between prayer and incense can be seen in Wis 18:21: "For a blameless man (Moses) was quick to act as their champion; he brought forward the shield of his ministry, prayer and propitiation by incense; he withstood the anger and put an end to the disaster."[23] Also in Rev 5:8, prayer and incense are combined: "the twenty four elders fell before the Lamb, each holding a harp and golden

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[20] Outside of the daily cultic service, anyone could offer a *minḥah* sacrifice for any number of personal reasons. Ben Sira (Sir 38:11) for example exhorts his audience to pray and offer a *minḥah* sacrifice when they become ill.

[21] Unlike the whole burnt offering, the blood of which functioned to atone the sins of the community, the *minḥah* was thought of as a gift. The use of the term *minḥah*, or "gift" to describe the cereal offering suggests that the basic meaning of this sacrifice should be distinguished from the whole burnt offering. God granted atonement through the blood of the burnt offering (cf. Lev 1; *Jub.* 6:14) and the worshipper responded by giving to God some of his or her produce represented by the cereal offering.

[22] The *minḥah* sacrifice was closely associated with the incense sacrifice because the *minḥah* also contained incense (cf. Isa 1:13; 43:23; Neh 13:4–9; Isa 66:3; Jer 17:26; 41:5; Mal 1:11, although also see note 14). See M. Weinfeld, "Minhah," in *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (repr.; London: T & T Clark, 2005), 122–3.

[23] While the daily prayers in 4Q503 lack any formal connection to sacrifices, there is some indication that the prayers in this document might have been thought of as a pleasing aroma. Although the fragment is too small to discuss in detail, it is worth noting that ניחוח appears in 4Q503 77 4: וניחוח [. For other Dead Sea Scrolls texts that use cultic language to describe prayer, see 1QS IX 3–5, 26; X 6; CD XI 21.

bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints." Further in Rev 8:3 the prayers of the saints are offered in coordination with the incense offering on the golden altar. This altar is placed directly before the heavenly throne, another indication of the ability of incense to attract divine attention.[24]

It is the anamnestic quality of incense—the ability to 'remind' God of the worshipper—that made the *minḥah* incense sacrifice an appealing time to pray.[25] The visceral sight and smell of the sacrifice aided in solidifying the correlation between prayer and sacrifice; visually, the ascending smoke of the sacrifice was reminiscent of the ascending and corresponding prayers, and as a pleasing odour for the Lord (ריח נחוח), the smell of incense aided in garnering God's attention. Such texts as Dan 9:21 and Jdt 9:1 further demonstrate that as long as the *minḥah* was offered in Jerusalem, one could acquire divine favor even at a distance from the temple simply by praying at the time of sacrifice.

2) In addition to the goodwill associated with incense, the *minḥah* and incense sacrifices could be offered by anyone for any number of reasons, and were not subjected to the restrictions associated with the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem, at least not to the same degree.[26] Jer 41:5,

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[24] The fact that incense was the only offering of the heavenly cult, and was often accompanied by prayer, demonstrates the importance of incense and its effectiveness in the heavenly realm. For other examples of incense in the heavens see *T. Levi* 3:6 and Greek *L.A.E.* 33:1–5 (*OTP* II, 288–9). The use of these passages, however, requires caution, particularly with respect to *T. Levi* 3:6. M. de Jonge has repeatedly argued that this verse is part of a larger interpolated passage (vv. 5–9) added by a Christian scribe. See M. de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature: The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 18; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 136, 170–1; H. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 138.

[25] As a time of goodwill, revelation was also associated with incense and *minḥah* sacrifice. In Luke 1, when Zachariah came out mute from the temple after performing his duties at the incense altar, the worshippers outside assumed he had received a vision. This same assumption underlines Isaiah's vision (Isa 6), in which Isaiah recalls that the temple was filled with smoke when he saw the Lord and the seraphim and heard the Trisagion. That the smoke came from the incense altar is implied as Isaiah writes that one of the seraphs took a coal from the altar and touches his mouth with it (Isa 6:6–7). In Lev 16:2, 13 the Lord is understood to be hidden within a cloud in the temple, and in Solomon's inaugural prayer the Lord dwells in a cloud in the temple (1 Kgs 8:10–11). Both references are to incense (cf. also Deut 31:5; 2 Chr 5:13; Ezek 10:3).

[26] It is likely that the burning of incense was a widely established and popular practice outside the temple precincts. There has been a continuing debate between M. Haran, S. Gitin, and J. Milgrom about whether incense would have been burned by non-priests outside the Jerusalem temple. Haran argues that incense was limited only to the temple precincts, but both Milgrom and Gitin correctly point to the many incense altars found in Palestine as

for example, records that during the Exile, men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria brought a *minḥah* sacrifice and incense to the temple, even though the temple was destroyed and the sacrificial service had presumably halted. We also find examples in which the *minḥah* and incense sacrifices continued to be practiced in a variety of places, despite the attempts in the Second Temple period to limit cultic worship to Jerusalem. The Elephantine papyri from Egypt (c. 408 BCE) record a series of petitions sent by the Jews of Yeb to Bagavahya, the Persian governor of Judea, requesting the rebuilding of their temple at Elephantine and the reinstatement of the meal, incense, and whole burnt sacrifices. Bagavahya acquiesces and sends word that the Jews can "rebuild it (i.e. the temple) on its site as it was formerly and the meal-offering and the incense they shall offer upon that altar just as formerly."[27] It thus appears that while animal sacrifices were not allowed, the *minḥah* and incense sacrifice could continue in cultic services outside Jerusalem under the legal sanctions of the Judean authorities.[28] Even in Judea, incense does not seem limited to the Jerusalem cult as incense altars have been found throughout ancient Palestine, perhaps even one at Qumran.[29]

To summarize: The texts surveyed above evince the widespread belief that certain fixed hours of the day were especially appropriate for prayer,

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evidence that it was a widespread practice (see also Jer 44:23, a passage which condemns the burning of incense: מפני אשר קטרתם). Cf. S. Gitin, "Incense Altars from Ekron, Israel and Judah: Context and Typology," *ErIsr* 20 (1989): 52–67; idem, "New Incense Altars from Ekron: Context, Typology and Function," *ErIsr* 23 (1992): 43–49; J. Milgrom, "The Burning of Incense in the Time of the Second Temple," in *Sefer Ben-Zion Luria: Studies in Bible and the History of Israel Presented in Honor of his Seventieth Birthday* (Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sepher, 1979), 330–4; M. Haran, "The Uses of Incense in the Ancient Israelite Ritual," *VT* (1960): 113–29.

[27] Translation from B. Porten, *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 149. See also A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., Edited, With Translation and Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 108–26; for a discussion of this correspondence, see B. Porten, *Archives From Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 289ff. For a discussion of these papyri and further discussion of the role of incense amongst Egyptian Jews, see A. Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-historical Study* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001), 436–46.

[28] The provision for *minḥah* and incense sacrifice brings to mind Mal 1:11: "'For from the rising of the sun, even to its setting, my name will be great among the nations, and in every place incense is going to be offered to my name, and a grain offering that is pure; for my name will be great among the nations,' says the Lord of hosts."

[29] See T. Elgvin (in collaboration with S. Pfann), "An Incense Altar from Qumran?" *DSD* 9 (2002): 20–33. For a survey of incense altars found in Palestine see E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 B.C.* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982) 182–95, 234–5. See also note 26.

even if the nature of prayer was private or spontaneous. The descriptions of prayer associated with sacrifice that we surveyed above do not yet indicate a daily cycle of fixed prayer nor do they demonstrate the independence of prayer from sacrifice, but they do suggest that certain times of the day, namely, the time of the daily sacrifices, influenced when one prayed, even in circles outside the immediate vicinity of the temple. The fact that the *minḥah* and incense sacrifices seem to have evaded cultic centralization in Jerusalem, and that prayer and the *minḥah* and incense sacrifices were closely connected, may have helped to enable the transition to new forms of worship centered on prayer.[30] This would hold true for the Jews who did not live in the vicinity of the Jerusalem temple and yet wanted to express their piety to God, and even more so when the Jerusalem temple was destroyed in 70 CE.

2.1. *Prayer in Sirach 50*

In the previous discussion I have shown that the fixed hours of sacrifice were considered as especially propitious for spontaneous prayer, even though the sacrificial act *per se* did not include prescribed verbal words. There is one text, however, Sir 50:5–21, that requires special consideration, as a number of scholars in recent years have argued that this text describes a daily cultic service composed of sacrifice and fixed prayers in the Jerusalem temple that included the participation of the community and the high priest.[31] Verses 14–21 state:

> Finishing the service at the altar, and arranging the offering to the Most High, the Almighty, he [i.e. the high priest] held out his hand for the cup and poured a drink offering of the blood of the grape; he poured it out at the foot of the altar, a pleasing odor to the Most High, the king of all. Then the sons of Aaron shouted; they blew their trumpets of hammered metal; they sounded a mighty fanfare as a reminder before the Most High. Then all the people together quickly fell to the ground on their faces to worship

[30] N. Sarna makes a similar claim in "The Psalm Superscriptions and the Guilds," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History* (ed. S. Stein and R. Loewe; University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1977), 293.

[31] F. O'Fearghail, "Sir. 50:5–21: Yom Kippur or the Daily Whole Offering," *Bib* 69 (1978): 301–16. For those that regard Sirach 50 as describing a daily service, see, e.g., Regev, "The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer," 9; C. T. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), 7, 77, 79–80; P. Trudinger, *The Psalms of the Tamid Service: A Liturgical Text from the Second Temple* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 30; Hamm, "Praying 'Regularly' (not 'Constantly')," 50–2. Daniel Falk agrees that Ben Sira describes a Yom Kippur service but suggests that it may nonetheless resemble a daily setting with some embellishments (*Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 73, 117, 118 n. 69, 207).

> their Lord, the Almighty, God Most High. Then the singers praised him with their voices in sweet and full-toned melody. And the people of the Lord Most High offered their prayers before the Merciful One, until the order of worship of the Lord was ended, and they completed his ritual. Then Simon came down and raised his hands over the whole congregation of Israelites, to pronounce the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to glory in his name; and they bowed down in worship a second time, to receive the blessing from the Most High.

By comparing this passage with the description of the daily service in *m. Tamid* 6.1–7.4, O'Fearghail argued that this passage describes the daily *tamid* service that included the daily recitation of prayer.[32] Although O'Fearghail never discussed the implications of his suggestion, other scholars (listed in note 31) since then have argued that if this passage indeed describes daily prayer in conjunction with the daily sacrifice, it would provide evidence of communal prayer that had been fixed within the daily sacrificial service in which the high priest and Levitical choir also participated. This passage would thus constitute one of the earliest testimonies of fixed daily prayer (ca. 180 BCE),[33] and it would indicate that the emerging practice of daily prayer in the Second Temple period should be seen as an outgrowth of popular participation in the temple cult.

The majority opinion, however, sees this passage as a description of a Yom Kippur service.[34] Roth, for example, notes the uncanny similarities between the description of the high priest's glory in Sirach and the conventional Jewish liturgy for Yom Kippur (see similar parallels in *Let. Aris.* §96–98);[35] moreover, the high priest's blessing for the same festival as described in *m. Yoma* 6:2 parallels remarkably with the priestly blessing in Sir 50:20–21. Stökl Ben Ezra tentatively sees this passage as describing a Yom Kippur liturgy because of its somber character.[36] Others such as Zeitlin argue that the service in Sirach must be Yom

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[32] *M. Tamid* 5.1 also discusses daily prayer in the daily sacrificial service of the Jerusalem temple. See section 4.1. in this chapter for further discussion of this text.

[33] P. Skehan and A. DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes* (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 8–10.

[34] For those who hold this position, see the extensive bibliography collected by O'Fearghail, "Sir. 50:5–21," 301. See also D. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 32–3; J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (trans. R. Sarason; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 124–5.

[35] C. Roth, "Ecclesiasticus in the Synagogue Service," *JBL* 71 (1952): 171–8.

[36] Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 32–3.

Kippur because the high priest would never officiate a daily service.[37] Josephus certainly gives this impression in *J.W.* 5.230.[38] Moreover, the reference to the high priest coming out of the "house of the veil" in Sir 50:5 (ἐν ἐξόδῳ οἴκου καταπετάσματος) may also imply a Yom Kippur setting, as καταπέτασμα frequently refers to the inner veil of the temple, separating the hall from the holy of holies,[39] and Yom Kippur was the only day the high priest could enter the revered room.[40]

The difficulty in determining the setting of Sirach 50 is because Ben Sira's focus is on the glory of Simon the High Priest and not the particulars of the service (although it is described in some detail); the described service is meant only to provide the background and appropriate motifs to praise Simon. That the passage refers to Yom Kippur, however, is the most compelling setting, especially in light of the participation of the high priest. Ben Sira's intentions to praise Simon's grandeur and glory fit well with the general opulence of the Yom Kippur service. The prominence of prayer and sacrifice at festivals[41] and the presence of trumpets (which were never legislated for daily use) further indicate that Ben Sira likely had in mind a festival.

Aside from the question of setting, the description of prayer in vv. 16–19 lacks any indication of a set communal liturgy, at least one that involved coordination between the priests and the people (except for the people's

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[37] Cf. S. Zeitlin, "The Tefillah, the Shemonah Esreh: An Historical Study of the First Canonization of the Hebrew Liturgy," *JQR* 54 (1963–64): 221.

[38] The cultic service in *Let. Aris.* §83ff., which included the high priest's participation, also describes a festival service, especially since 700 priests are mentioned in §95.

[39] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.3.3; Philo, *Giants* 12; Exod 26:31ff.; Lev 21:23; Matt 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45.

[40] Otto Mulder has recently suggested that this passage may describe a fall New Year festival, primarily because it includes the use of trumpets (see Lev 23:23–24; Ps 98:6) which did not occur on a daily basis. See O. Mulder, *Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50: An Exegetical Study of the Significance of Simon the High Priest as Climax to the Praise of the Fathers in Ben Sira's Concept of the History of Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 168–75. Mulder points to 4Q320 4 iii 6, 4Q321 V 6, and VI 1 where the first day of the seventh month is considered a "Day of Memorial" and includes the blast of trumpets. This, he claims, parallels the memorial blast of the trumpets mentioned in Sir 50:16: "Then the sons of Aaron shouted, they sounded the trumpets of hammered work, they made a great noise to be heard for remembrance before the Most High." The association between the memorial blast of the trumpets and the first day of the seventh month is further seen in 11Q19 (*Temple Scroll*) XXV 2–4. The recognition of a festival as a 'memorial' before God is not unusual: in Ps-Philo, *L.A.B.* 13:4, 6, the Festival of Unleavened Bread and Yom Kippur were also regarded as 'memorials.' The passage in *L.A.B.* does strengthen the argument that the setting in Sirach is a festival, although it does not help to decide which one.

[41] Regarding prayer at national festivities, see: Sir 47:91; 1 Macc 4:54; 12:11; 2 Macc 1:23; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.203; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.193; *Decalogue* 158.

genuflection). This should not be too surprising, as rituals in large communal settings tend to emphasize visual displays rather than elaborate verbal formulae, as it is more difficult to implement formalized and set words with groups. It is conceivable, therefore, that the prayers offered in this context were personal and spontaneous utterances. The fact that Sirach 50 includes prayer further demonstrates what we have seen throughout this chapter, which is that times of sacrifice were popular for prayer, and that these prayers are spontaneous, subject to the circumstances of the one praying. The temple may have been a place where the community thought that it was most auspicious to pray, but this was because of the importance of sacrifice, not because of any formal attempts by the leadership to institute set liturgies that included the general public (for further discussion see section 5.).

3. Descriptions of Times of Prayer in the Psalms

Within a number of biblical psalms we find descriptions about worship that include references to certain times of the day, particularly the morning, and/or night. Even though the biblical Psalter was used for worship and meditation, much of the technical information about the setting and performance of the psalms is missing. It is therefore difficult to know how to contextualize these general descriptions of worship, and if the time references of morning and/or night have any bearing on the performance of the psalm in which they are found. Further, the difficulty associated with the paucity of technical data is compounded by the fact that many of the cultic details that have survived are obscure, or the meaning of these details has been lost through the reception of the psalms into later communities removed from the temple cult.[42] Further still, in the superscriptions of some psalms secondary insertions have been added through exegetical activity that assign the psalm to a setting that may not reflect accurately its liturgical usage.[43]

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[42] See the discussion in E. Schuller, "The Use of Biblical Terms as Designations for Non-Biblical Hymnic and Prayer Compositions," in *Biblical Perspectives: Proceedings of the First Orion Center Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. Stone and E. Chazon; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 205–20.

[43] Cf. A. Pietersma, "Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo 1998* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 99–138; B. Childs, "Psalms Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16 (1971): 137–50. Childs focuses on some thirteen psalms that, through exegetical activity, have been linked to episodes within the life of David.

Despite these difficulties it is hard to deny that many Psalms—but perhaps not all—originated in, and were in some way connected to, the temple cult and its sacrifices, particularly at festivals and perhaps Sabbaths (cf. Ps 92), and thus reflect a cultic *Sitz im Leben*. This was already made clear by Gunkel in his investigation of psalm types (*Gattungsforschung*).[44] We find, for example, references to pilgrimage and ascent to the Jerusalem temple (Pss. 84; 120–134), hymns of entrance to the sanctuary (Pss. 15; 24; 132), Songs of Zion (שיר ציון; Ps 137),[45] and a song for the Sabbath, according to the title (Ps 92:1). In other psalms sacrifices are mentioned in relation to praise and worship although we cannot discern precisely the setting (e.g. Ps 20:3; 27:6; 50:5; 54:6; 96:8; 107:22).

Regarding the references to certain times of the day and/or night within the psalms, the question remains: Are these descriptions evidence of a general custom of praying in the morning and/or night in the temple[46] and thus should be taken into consideration when examining the origins and development of fixed daily prayer, or are these descriptions of worship limited to a specific setting that was unrelated? Regarding morning prayer, see the following:

> Ps 5:3: "O Lord, in the morning you hear my voice; in the morning I plead my case to you, and watch."
>
> LXX Ps 21:1 [MT 22:1]:[47] "For the end, concerning the morning aid, a Psalm of David."

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[44] Cf. H. Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form Critical Introduction* (4th ed.; trans. J. Nogalski; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998); H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988); P. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* (WBC 19; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983); F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalms 2* (Hermeneia; trans. L. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005). For a general overview of Israel's worship see H.-J. Kraus, *Worship In Israel: A Cultic History of the Old Testament* (trans. G. Buswell; Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1966).

[45] Mowinckel argues that many of the psalms were originally composed as part of a mythic re-enactment ritual of God's enthronement and supreme lordship during the fall New Year festival. See S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962).

[46] There are a number of exceptions: Ps 141 describes prayer as an evening *minḥah* sacrifice, and Ps 55:18 describes a pattern of prayer morning, midday, and evening. Ps 119:164 describes prayer seven times a day.

[47] LXX Ps 21:1 contains in the opening rubric: εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως τῆς ἑωθινῆς ("To the end concerning morning aid"). Like so many of the lament psalms, this opening line states that help comes in the morning. It may be that the Hebrew rubric had a similar sense, למנצח על אילת השחר ("To the leader according to the Deer of the Dawn"), but this we do not know as the term 'Deer of the Dawn,' is unexplainable. It thus appears that the Old Greek translator interpreted the phrase אילת השחר to indicate that the psalm was designated for the morning, a time when divine help was expected to arrive.

Ps 30:6: "Weeping may linger for the night, but joy comes with the morning."
Ps 57:9: "Awake, my soul! Awake, O harp and lyre! I will awake the dawn."
Ps 88:14: "But I, O Lord, cry out to you; in the morning my prayer comes before you."
Ps 90:14: "Satisfy us in the morning with your steadfast love, so that we may rejoice and be glad all our days."
Ps 92:3: "to declare your steadfast love in the morning, and your faithfulness in the nights."[48]
Ps 119:147: "I rise before dawn and cry for help; I put my hope in your words."
Ps 143:8: "Let me hear of your steadfast love in the morning, for in you I put my trust. Teach me the way I should go, for to you I lift up my soul."

Prayer during the night is also mentioned directly or implied; in some cases the night culminates with a joyful celebration and sacrifice in the morning with the coming light (e.g. Ps 27:6):[49]

Ps 6:7: "I am weary with my moaning; every night I flood my bed with tears; I drench my couch with my weeping."
Ps 16:7: "I bless the Lord who gives me counsel; in the night also my heart instructs me."
Ps 17:15: "As for me, I shall behold your face in righteousness; when I awake I shall be satisfied, beholding your likeness."
Ps 27:8: "'Come,' my heart says, 'seek his face!' Your face, Lord, do I seek."[50]
Ps 42:8: "By day the Lord commands his steadfast love, and at night his song is with me."
Ps 59:15, 17: "Each evening they come back, howling like dogs . . . But I will sing of your might; I will sing aloud of your steadfast love in the morning. For you have been a fortress for me and a refuge in the day of my distress."
Ps 63:7: ". . . when I think of you on my bed, and meditate on you in the watches of the night."
Ps 77:7: "I remembered my songs in the night" (my translation).

While Ps 21/22 is often classified as a psalm of thanksgiving, the first part of the psalm, vv. 1–21, clearly falls within the lament genre.

[48] Instead of "in the nights," the NRSV translates "by night." See note 51 for this translation.

[49] See Pss 65:9, 97:11, and Prov 13:9 for parallels between light אור and joy שמח. For a discussion of nocturnal vigils in the psalms, see J. W. McKay, "Psalms of Vigil," *ZAW* 91 (1979): 229–47; McKay lists eight psalms that describe such a vigil (Pss 5; 17; 27; 30; 57; 59; 63; 143). Gunkel refers to Pss 6; 57; 59; 64; 77; 102 (v. 8), and Isa 38:9–20 as nightly complaint psalms. M. Smith agrees that a vigil setting is likely for Pss 17; 27; and 63. Cf. M. Smith, "'Seeing God' in the Psalms: The Background of the Beatific Vision in the Hebrew Bible," *CBQ* 50 (1988): 175, 181.

[50] See note 49 for a discussion on the nocturnal setting of this psalm.

Ps 92:3: "to declare your steadfast love in the morning, and your faithfulness in the nights."[51]

Ps 119:62: "At midnight I rise to praise you, because of your righteous ordinances."

Ps 119:148: "My eyes are awake before each watch of the night, that I may meditate on your promise."

Ps 130:6: "my soul waits for the Lord more than those who watch for the morning, more than those who watch for the morning."

Ps 143:8: "Let me hear of your steadfast love in the morning, for in you I put my trust."

Aside from asking if these descriptions allude to a general practice of praying daily in the morning and/or night or whether a specific *Sitz im Leben* is envisioned, we should also bear in mind that these descriptions may not reflect the actual *realia* of worship. That is, we cannot assume that a psalm that contains time references was recited in the described manner. One pertinent example is found in Ps 92, which the MT designates in the opening rubric as a song for the Sabbath. The psalm exhorts the reader to "declare" God's love in the morning, and God's faithfulness "in the nights," but we cannot assume that this language somehow reflects the manner in which it was recited.

With these caveats in mind, a number of observations can be made when we group these psalms together. First, with the exception of Pss 21, 30[52] and 92, all of the psalms listed above that mention praying during the morning and/or night belong to the category of the lament genre.[53] From this observation the question naturally arises of why 'time references' are a feature only of this particular psalm type. Along with these 'time references,' there are a number of other stock motifs that appear regularly in these psalms, such as refuge in God's temple, hiding in the "shadow of the wings," petitions for vindication and divine judgment, and the expectation of divine justice to arrive in the morning.[54] A

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[51] Cf. Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 435. They suggest that the plural "nights" may refer to the night watches over the course of a night.

[52] Ps 30 is usually classified as an individual thanksgiving psalm, but the purpose of thanksgiving is clearly in response to a situation that caused lament.

[53] All of the psalms are considered 'individual laments,' except for Ps 90 which is considered a 'communal lament.' See Gunkel, *The Psalms*, 121–98. Ps 119 is often classified as a wisdom psalm. These verses are still included because they appear within lament sections in the psalm (e.g. vv. 57–64, vv. 145–152). See Gunkel, *Psalms*, 121; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 417, 419; Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, 139–40.

[54] For the relationship between sunrise and the coming of justice, see McKay, "Vigil," 229; J. Glen Taylor, *Yahweh and the Sun: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sun Worship in Ancient Israel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), ch. 3; Smith, "'Seeing

number of scholars, most recently Kraus, have argued that these motifs were originally part of a subgenre of lament psalms rooted in a temple *Sitz im Leben* in which an accused victim would spend the night in the temple holding vigil (or perhaps in incubation), waiting for divine jurisprudence in the morning.[55]

The custom of cultic incubation followed by holding court in the morning is attested in various ancient Near Eastern sources,[56] but it is difficult to determine the validity of the 'accused victim' hypothesis, as these psalms lack concrete data that allow one to argue that these features are more than literary and rhetorical motifs.[57] It is probably safe to assume that if these lament psalms were used in this type of legal setting they were also used in, and adapted to, a variety of additional settings where lament would be appropriate, such as at times of sickness or other personal calamity.[58] Regardless of the setting, the listing of prayer times within these psalms of lament seems to be part of a broader rhetorical strategy to bring to the attention of God the piety of the psalmist, and also to demonstrate persistence in the face of adversity. These themes of lament are entirely appropriate for special, difficult situations, which, once resolved, ought to lead to praise. The lament-praise cycle, however, is inappropriate for a context of regular daily psalmody. Where in scripture we do see daily psalmody, the genre is thanksgiving and praise (cf. Ps 65:8: "you make the gateways of the morning and the evening shout for joy" [ומוצאי בקר וערב תרנין]; 1 Chr 16:4: "He appointed certain of the

God' in the Psalms," 171–83; idem, "The Near Eastern Background of Solar Language for Yahweh," *JBL* 109 (1990): 29–39; Anderson, "The Praise of God as a Cultic Evident," 15–33; N. Sarna, "Psalm XIX and the Near Eastern Sun-God Literature," *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1967): 1.171–5. The sun was certainly understood as a symbol of divine justice both in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Ps 19), and the broader ancient Near East. See for example the Old Babylonian Hymn to the Sun (in E. Reiner, *Your Thwarts in Pieces, Your Mooring Rope Cut: Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria* [Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1985], 68–84). See also J. Baumgarten, "The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of Sedeq in Jewish Apocalyptic," *ANRW* 2.19.1 (1979): 219–39.

[55] Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 53–55. Kraus, following Schmidt, labels these psalms "Songs of the Accused." See also H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im Alten Testament* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1928); W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht* (Göttinger: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970); McKay, "Psalms of Vigil," 231, n. 13.

[56] See McKay, "Psalms of Vigil," 229 and sources cited there. See also Zeph 3:5.

[57] These are the conclusions of Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 75; T. McAlpine, *Sleep in the Old Testament* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 161–8.

[58] For example, Pss 6, 30, and 88 are often seen as songs of "sickness and healing" (Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 54–5, acknowledges the possibility of a variety of settings for these psalms).

Levites as ministers before the ark of the Lord, to invoke, to thank, and to praise the Lord, the God of Israel [להזכיר ולהודות ולהלל ליהוה];" Neh 12:46: "For in the days of David and Asaph long ago there was a leader of the singers, and there were songs of praise and thanksgiving to God [ושיר תהלה והדות לאלהים]").[59] We should therefore see 'time references' in the psalms as indicative of a special function and related to the unique circumstances of the lament genre, not as evidence for a general custom of praying in the morning and/or during night.

It is possible, though, that as these lament psalms were received in later generations, the descriptions of prayer times in them helped to set a precedent for set times of fixed daily prayer. The pattern of praying morning, noon, evening, as evinced in Ps 55:17–18, is particularly demonstrative in this regard, as many early Jewish and Christian interpreters looked to this passage as a prooftext for their own custom of prayer three times daily. Jewish tradition finds in this passage, among others, confirmation of a daily prayer schedule of morning, afternoon and evening (*b. Ber.* 31a; Dan 6:11 also figures as a prooftext [*t. Ber.* 3.15]); Christian interpreters saw it as a prooftext for prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours.[60] Yet, while the reception of these psalms in later times reinforced contemporary prayer practices of Jews and Christians, we have no evidence that this type of prooftexting from the psalms had been utilized to set a precedent for daily times of prayer in the Second Temple period.[61] It is easy

[59] This observation holds true for Jewish liturgy as it developed through the centuries. The psalms for each weekday are praises except for Ps 94 (for Wednesday). S. Gillingham observes that very few lament psalms are included in the Jewish liturgical cycle, that "Jewish psalmody in daily, weekly and festival liturgy thus seems to be more about praise and rejoicing than about lament" (in *Psalms Through the Centuries: Volume One* [Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008], 45).

Regarding the setting for penitential prayers, prayers which scholars suggest were adapted from lament psalms, see M. Boda, "Form Criticism in Transition: Penitential Prayer and Lament, *Sitz im Leben* and Form," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 1: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. Boda, D. Falk, and R. Werline; Early Judaism and Its Literature 22; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 190. He argues that penitential prayers did not become a daily activity, *pace* Falk (*Daily*, 114–9), who sees *Words of the Luminaries* as evidence of a daily penitential tradition. It is far from clear, however, that we should envision a daily setting for the *Words of the Luminaries* that extended past the span of one week (see Chapter Three).

[60] See for example Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel* (trans. G. Archer, Jr.; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958), 66; see also the discussion of Dan 6:11 in R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (2d ed.; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 21.

[61] In *L.A.B.* 11:8, Ps-Philo, while quoting Ps 107:32, writes that hymns were sung on the Sabbath, but does not give any indication of a tradition of daily psalmody.

to harmonize the prayer descriptions in these psalms with other patterns of daily prayer evinced in the Second Temple period (see the following chapters), but in doing so one must ignore their rhetorical purpose.[62]

Thus, while we find patterns of prayer times in the psalms that resemble later traditions of daily prayer practices, these patterns are still occasion-specific for ominous situations that required either individual or communal lament and lack a fixed *daily* ritual pattern. References to the time of praying morning and/or night in the lament psalms function rhetorically to heighten one's piety before God but do not reflect a general custom of praying morning and night. Further, there is no evidence that Jews of the Second Temple period turned to these psalms, at least explicitly, to bolster the new and emerging practice of daily prayer (see Chapter Two for further discussion of scripture and daily prayer).

4. Daily Prayer in the Temple

One of the first regular daily prayer services to develop in the Second Temple is the Levitical service of psalms. The service was limited to Levites professionally trained in the singing of psalms and was coordinated with the daily sacrifices.[63] An important passage attesting to this devel-

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[62] It is erroneous to claim that the prayer pattern in Ps 55:17–18 is a reflection of a broader daily prayer practice that consisted of prayer three times a day (e.g. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 522; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 55). These erroneous claims are reinforced by pointing to Dan 6:11 as confirmation. See, for example, A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (trans. David Pellauer; Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1979), 114, n. 14; C. Seow, *Daniel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 90; N. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1965), 91.

[63] Regarding Levitical psalmody in the temple, see Sarna, "The Psalm Superscriptions," 281–300. According to Sarna, a hierarchy and class division between the Zadokite priests and the Levites existed long before the exile in 586 BCE (a simple comparison of Ezekiel 40–48 with 1–2 Chronicles adequately demonstrates this tension between Zadokite and Levitical priests) and dictated the division and arrangement of temple duties. It is only in the Second Temple period that we see clear evidence for the coordination of sacrifice with psalmody on a daily basis, most likely due to the increased importance and social status of Levites during this period. For a good summary of the increase of Levitical status, see M. Haran, "Studies in the Account of the Levitical Cities: II. Utopia and Historical Reality," *JBL* 80 (1961): 156–65; J. Blenkinsopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 88; R. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996); J. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993): 1–64, esp. 42ff. See also M. Smith, "The Levitical Compilation of the Psalter," *ZAW* 103 (1991): 258–63, who argues that the Levites were responsible for the final redaction of the Psalter during the post-exilic period.

opment is 1 Chronicles 16. This chapter provides an etiological account of how the two institutions of psalmody and sacrifice were combined to form the official daily service in Jerusalem. In this account the daily service of psalms was commanded by David, the psalmist par excellence (see 2 Chr 8:13–15), and put under the direction of the Levites, whereas the service of sacrifices was instituted by Moses.[64]

1 Chronicles 16, following the contours of 2 Sam 6:17–20, adds an elaborate thanksgiving hymn performed by the Levites at the end of the service (the hymn is composed of a pastiche of biblical psalms: 1 Chr 16:8–22=Ps 105:1–15; 1 Chr 16:22–33=Ps 96:1–13; 1 Chr 16:34–6=Ps 106:1, 35–36), to which the congregation responds "Amen!"[65] The Chronicler then adds this account: "So David left Asaph and his brethren there before the ark of the covenant of the Lord to minister regularly (תמיד) before the ark as each day required" (16:37). The intention of the Chronicler is clear: David not only brought the ark to Jerusalem safely, he also established the institution of daily psalmody that would eventually accompany the daily sacrifices once temple construction was completed (the sacrificial services continued at Gibeon until Solomon's time). 1 Chr 23:30–31 records more generally the duties assigned to the Levites, in which regular thanksgiving and praise is required at every occasion of sacrifice:

> And they shall stand every morning, thanking and praising the Lord, and likewise at evening, and whenever burnt offerings are offered to the Lord on sabbaths, new moons, and appointed festivals, according to the number required of them, regularly (תמיד) before the Lord.

2 Chr 8:14 repeats these views:

> According to the ordinance of his father David, he appointed the divisions of the priests for their service, and the Levites for their offices of praise and ministry alongside the priests as the duty of each day required, and the

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[64] Sarna has argued that despite the fact that the Levites were of a social class lower than priests, these guilds were comprised of skilled liturgists and did not simply reiterate popular religious practice. That is, psalmody was not a popular movement transplanted into temple precincts, but rather an integral component of temple cult. If he is correct, we should be cautious in arguing that the lay community participated in daily psalmody in ways other than by viewing the service. (Cf. "The Psalm Superscriptions and the Guilds," 281–300.)

[65] The communal "amen" may indicate that the institution of psalmody involved the participation of the people, although this episode describes the inauguration of the service which makes it difficult to tell if communal involvement would have taken place daily. The "amen" may have also served apologetic purposes, demonstrating the widespread and wholehearted acceptance of daily psalmody.

> gatekeepers in their divisions for the several gates; for so David the man of God had commanded.[66]

The account of the origins of daily psalmody in the temple in 1 Chronicles 16 accomplishes two things. First, because daily prayer in the temple was never legislated in Torah—unlike the laws pertaining to sacrifice—the Chronicler sought to provide an etiological account that served to legitimate the daily service of the psalms. In this account temple psalmody was instituted by David's legal authority (כמצות דויד) via the prophets Gad and Nathan (2 Chr 29:25; cf. Neh 11:23; 12:24, 36, 45–46) in the same way that the laws of sacrifice were given by Moses (כמצות משה; 2 Chr 8:13–14).[67] That this account of daily psalmody is found only in the Second Temple period suggests that psalmody and sacrifice, *on a daily basis*, were not originally, at least in any official capacity, performed together, and that daily psalmody was introduced centuries after the sacrificial cult in Jerusalem was well-established. Moreover, in this attempt to institutionalize a daily psalms service, the necessary framework for how the new institution of daily psalmody would operate within the temple was patterned after the ancient laws of temple sacrifice already prescribed by Moses.

Secondly, even though psalmody was still performed with sacrifice, this etiological account attests to a rise in the importance of psalmody as an institution separate from sacrifice.[68] In 1 Chronicles 16, David

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[66] See also 2 Chr 29:27 although this passage refers to the Passover festival.

[67] See S. de Vries, "Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chroniclers," *JBL* 107 (1988): 619–39; S. Japhet, *Chronicles I & II: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1993), 927. See also J. W. Kleinig's book *The Lord's Song: The Basis, Function and Significance of Choral Music in Chronicles* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993). He argues that the climax of Chronicles is not the institution of the temple sacrifice, but rather of the choral service, as David brought the ark to Jerusalem to inaugurate liturgical singing (p. 144), not sacrifice (which continued in Gibeon until the completion of the temple). Despite the separate origins, the Chronicler sees both institutions, psalmody and sacrifice, as ultimately commanded by God (see 2 Chr 8:13–15).

Josephus (*Ant.* 7.305) recounts a similar etiology, although he reduces the role of the Levites in the temple to worship on the Sabbath and at festivals: "He [David] also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the Sabbath day, and on other festivals." Ps-Philo, *L.A.B.* 11:8 (quoting Ps 107:32) also writes that hymns were sung on the Sabbath. Josephus conspicuously leaves out any hint that psalms or prayers were said alongside the daily sacrifices in *Ant.* 3.224–36, 237–57. It seems that for Josephus daily prayers were relegated to the private sphere (cf. *Ant.* 4.212; for a discussion of this text, see section 3. in Chapter Two).

[68] Cf. S. Cohen, "The Temple and Synagogue," in vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 303; Japhet, *Chronicles I & II*, 927; eadem, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989), 226–8.

institutes psalmody in the Jerusalem temple while the daily sacrifices continued separately in Gibeon until construction of the Jerusalem temple was completed by David's son Solomon. In case David's authority did not have sufficient weight in legislating daily temple singing—after all, there is nothing mentioned of this form of worship in the laws given to Israel at Sinai—Chronicles, in the description of the dedication of the temple (2 Chr 5:2–6:2, esp. vv. 11–14), describes God's glory filling the temple precisely at the moment when,

> it was the duty of the trumpeters and singers to make themselves heard in unison in praise and thanksgiving to the Lord, and when the song was raised, with trumpets and cymbals and other musical instruments, in praise to the Lord, "For he is good, for his steadfast love endures forever," the house, the house of the Lord, was filled with a cloud.

The effect of this cloud of glory was such that even the priests could not stand and minister before the Lord (v. 14).

The conscious effort of Chronicles to separate daily psalmody and sacrifice as two distinct institutions suggests that in the post-exilic period psalmody was gaining widespread acceptance as an important and independent form of worship; the fact that David instituted daily psalmody in the Jerusalem temple while sacrifices continued at Gibeon underlines this separation. For the Chronicler, the motive for writing an etiological account that grounded prayer within Israel's mythic past—a practice affirmed by Gad and Nathan, and instituted by David to accompany daily sacrifice at the times prescribed ultimately by God—was because daily psalmody was 'getting off the ground' as an institution separate from sacrifice, and thus its origins needed to be accounted for to explain its necessity.[69] This is particularly evident in 1 Chronicles 16 and 2 Chr 5:11–14. The former passage demonstrates clearly that the institution of psalmody could be performed in Jerusalem while sacrifice continued in Gibeon. The latter demonstrates divine acceptance of daily temple singing.

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[69] In the Chronicler's attempt to provide an etiological account of the origins of daily temple psalmody, it is noteworthy that he gives no indication of a fixed roster of temple psalms. James Kugel also notes, "It is important to assert that what goes on in the Temple is utterly in keeping with God's will, even if it had not been spelled out in the great corpus of priestly law—hence the insistence on David's ideal qualities, his status as a divinely chosen man, and his role in establishing the Temple music. At the same time, the actual words spoken in the Temple were not supposed to be utterly standardized . . ." Cf. J. Kugel, "David the Prophet," in *Poetry and Prophecy: the Beginnings of a Literary Tradition* (ed. J. Kugel; New York: Cornell University Press, 1991), 51.

The importance of Levitical singing at the time of daily sacrifices is further highlighted in other Second Temple period sources. Philo relates in *Moses* 1.159–173 that the Levites were chosen for prayer because of the people's impiety and their inability to worship God correctly, and in *Spec. Laws* 1.167 and 224 he notes that prayers and singing were important aspects in temple worship.[70] The colophon towards the end of one of the Qumran scrolls, 11QPs^{a} XXVII 2–11, lists the compositions written by David to be recited throughout the year: 3600 psalms (תהלים) and 364 songs (שיר) for the tamid offerings (עלת התמיד). Instead of providing a historical and technical description of cultic psalmody, this text is more interested in promoting David's poetic abilities and organizing the performance of these psalms according to the schematic 364-day solar calendar, but the passage nonetheless assumes that psalms were recited alongside the *tamid* offering.

Further, there are a number of headings in the Greek translation of the Psalms (LXX) that designate a number of psalms for set days of the week—Ps 24 on Sunday, Ps 48 on Monday, Ps 94 on Wednesday, Ps 93 on Friday. Ps 92 was considered a "song for the Sabbath day," a tradition also found in the MT. *M. Tamid* 7.4 follows this tradition and adds that Ps 82 was sung on Tuesday and Ps 81 on Thursday. The Greek headings are secondary insertions, and thus, while we should question their historical veracity (with perhaps the exception of Ps 92 [91]), they do indicate that at some stage in the transmission of the psalms it was widely believed that certain psalms were recited alongside daily sacrifice.[71]

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[70] For further discussion see J. Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 137–8, 177–8, 236–9.

[71] For a discussion of these headings see N. Sarna, "The Psalm for the Sabbath Day (Ps 92)," *JBL* 81 (1962): 155–56; Pietersma "Exegesis and Liturgy," 134–6. Pietersma argues that these headings pertain to the content, not the occasion of their use. See also P. Trudinger's book, *The Psalms of the Tamid Service*. Trudinger's conclusions are overly positive, as he argues that these psalms form a coherent Second Temple period liturgical text. See E. Schuller's review in *RBL 08/2006* where she rightly questions his conclusions. On the issue of exegetically derived Psalm titles, also see the important article by Childs, "Psalms Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," 137–50. On the question of establishing specific psalms for the days of the week, it would have been helpful if the psalm manuscripts from Qumran were complete. Unfortunately none of the relevant textual material has been preserved and we cannot know if the psalm titles for the days of week were in place at the time that the Qumran psalms manuscripts were being copied. See P. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 118–34.

4.1. *Priestly Prayer in* M. Tamid *5.1*

Before moving on to the next section where I will discuss the impact of temple worship on daily prayer, I will examine an additional text, *m. Tamid* 5.1, that describes the priestly recitation of fixed daily prayer during the morning *tamid* service in the Jerusalem temple. This passage is often drawn upon as evidence that in the Second Temple period priests recited fixed prayer as part of their daily cultic service in the Jerusalem.[72] In recounting the daily schedule in the Jerusalem temple, *m. Tamid* 5.1 records that, after the slaughter of the tamid lamb, but before the incense sacrifice, the priests came to the 'chamber of hewn stone' and recited the following service:

> The leader said to them, "Recite one blessing." And they blessed. They recited the Ten Words (Decalogue), "Hear" (Deut 6:4–9), "And it shall come to pass" (Deut 11:13–21), "And he said . . ." (Num 15:37–41). They blessed the people with three blessings: "True and Certain, "Abodah," and the "Blessing of the Priests." On the Sabbath they add one blessing for the completed service.

It is clear that the passage refers to the Shema liturgy—albeit in a form different than in *m. Berakhot*—although the actual words of the liturgy are not given and it is difficult to determine the content of some of the blessings.[73] In contrast to *m. Ber.* 1–2, *m. Tamid* 5.1 lists only one blessing to be pronounced before the recitation of biblical passages; three blessings, including a priestly blessing, are pronounced after ("True and Certain," "Abodah," and "The Blessing of the Priests"). Another obvious difference between the two passages is the inclusion of the Decalogue in *m. Tamid* 5.1 and its absence in the Shema liturgy in *m. Berakhot*.

Most scholars of Jewish liturgy affirm the historicity of *m. Tamid* 5.1 by comparing the version of the Shema liturgy recorded in it to the one recorded in *m. Berakhot*.[74] The differences between the two liturgies, they

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[72] Cf. especially Regev, "The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer."

[73] See the discussion of this problem in R. Hammer, "What Did They Bless? A Study of Mishnah Tamid 5.1," *JQR* 81 (1991): 305–24.

[74] L. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (2d ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 551, n. 86. For other scholars that accept the claims of *m. Tamid* 5.1, see R. Kimelman, "The Shema Liturgy: From Covenant Ceremony to Coronation," in *Kenishta: Studies of the Synagogue World* (ed. J. Tabory; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan Unversity Press, 2001), 13, n. 13. He writes: "The lack of correspondence between this report and the later rabbinic liturgy militates against it being a retrojection. Were it so, it would have excluded the Decalogue." See also Baumgarten, " Invented Traditions," 202; P. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (2d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 39–40; Hammer, "What Did They Bless;"

argue, were created by external historical processes that changed the form and content of the liturgy over time, and that these historical processes demonstrate *m. Tamid* to be older. The most obvious indication of such a development is the excision of the Decalogue, apparently because certain "minim" claimed that "these alone [i.e. the laws] were given at Sinai" (cf. *y. Ber.* 3c; *b. Ber.* 12a). The version in *m. Berakhot*, which does not include the Decalogue, is taken as evidence of this excision,[75] and texts from the Second Temple period, such as the Nash Papyrus and some Qumran tefillin, are taken as affirmation that the Decalogue-Shema combination recorded in *m. Tamid* is authentic.[76]

Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 115–6; R. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 116; Reif, *Hebrew Prayer*, 83; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. Nash Papyrus, 833 ("The combination of the Decalogue and the *Shema* indicates that the text of the papyrus represents the Torah readings included in the daily morning liturgy of Second Temple times [cf. *Tamid* 5.1]."); Tabory, "Prayers and Berakhot," 294; Regev, "The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer," 4–5; Vermes, "Pre-Mishnaic," 69–70.

For a slightly different approach to this passage, see also Hammer, "What Did They Bless," 305–24, esp. p. 322. Hammer speculates that the form and content of Shema liturgy varies between the two tractates because each reflects different socio-historical settings. In *m. Tamid*, the Shema is described as taking place in the 'chamber of hewn stone' in the Jerusalem temple and reflects the concerns of priests. Hammer further suggested that blessing before the Decalogue in *m. Tamid* 5.1 was to proclaim the blessedness of God (such as in 1 Chr 29:10–13), and that the priestly blessing after the Shema was to proclaim the blessings on the people. Hammer proposed that the "True and Certain" blessing was said to proclaim the truth of scripture and that "Abodah" petitions God to accept the offering of the people.

[75] Compare *y. Ber.* 3c; *b. Ber.* 12a with *Sifre Deut*. 34, a text that appears to be less ideological about the matter ("The Ten Commandments are not subject to repetition every day."). Cf. the discussion by Kimelman, "The Shemaʿ and Its Rhetoric," 136ff.; "The Shema Liturgy: From Covenant Ceremony to Coronation," 70–5. It is important to note that despite these rabbinic claims, the Decalogue continued to be included in liturgy until the Medieval period (Cf. S. Reif, *Hebrew Prayer*, 85, 144). Perhaps Jerome's comments to Ezek 24:15 and Matt 23:6 illustrate this continued usage ("The Babylonian magistrates who observe the law surround their heads with the Decalogue written on leather."). Reference from J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions," *HUCA* 4 (1927): 290, n. 102.

[76] See e.g. Reif, *Hebrew Prayer*, 58, 93; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 47; Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 551; Vermes, "Pre-Mishnaic," 69–70. A number of scrolls found at Qumran contain excerpted passages from Deuteronomy (cf. 4QDeut^{j,k,l,n}; DJD XIV), although none of them contain the Shema passages. Despite this fact, M. Weinfeld, "Grace After Meals," 428, states the following about 4QDeut^{n}: "At any rate, the morning prayer, which contains the Decalogue with the Shema and the blessing after meals, represents the liturgical order of the day, and this is reflected in the All Souls Scroll (4QDeut^{n})." There is, however, no certain evidence from this scroll of the combination of the Decalogue and the Shema since the scroll breaks off at Deut 6:1.

In my view, however, there are substantial difficulties with the claim that *m. Tamid* 5.1 describes accurately a Second Temple period priestly liturgy.[77] I will discuss three. 1) First, even if one supposes that some form of a Shema liturgy existed in the Second Temple period, there is no evidence that recitation of Num 15:37–41 (the commandment to wear fringes) achieved any recognition as liturgically important in the Second Temple period. We know that the inclusion of this passage in the Shema liturgy continued to be a matter of debate in rabbinic literature long after the Shema had been widely recognized as an established liturgy.[78] The inclusion of Num 15:37–41 therefore raises the possibility that *m. Tamid* 5.1 reflects a rabbinic perspective that is a least partly anachronistic.

2) Secondly, the inclusion of the Decalogue in the Shema liturgy does not necessarily attest to the antiquity of *m. Tamid* 5.1. The Decalogue is indeed absent from the version found in *m. Berakhot*; yet, as noted above, the Decalogue-Shema combination continued in some circles long into the Late Antique period (see note 75). Even though the Decalogue was eventually excised from daily prayer practices, it is possible that the combination was still current during the redaction of *m. Tamid* in the tannaitic period.[79]

It is likewise tenuous, in my estimation, to appeal to the Nash Papyrus and some Qumran tefillin to corroborate *m. Tamid's* testimony by virtue

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[77] For those that see *m. Tamid* 5.1 as problematic, see also E. Fleischer, "On the Beginnings of Obligatory Jewish Prayer," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 397–441; T. Zahavy, "The Politics of Piety: Social Conflict and the Emergence of Rabbinic Liturgy," in *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship* (ed. P. Bradshaw and L. Hoffman; Two Liturgical Traditions 1; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 52–53; P. Foster, "Did Matthew Get the Shema Wrong? A Study of Matt 22:37," *JBL* 122 (2003): 326–7.

[78] S. Reif has argued in "The Early Liturgy of the Synagogue," in vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 350, that the status of the third biblical paragraph was still unsettled in the tannaitic period (see also *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer: New Perspectives on Jewish Liturgical History* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 83); see for example, *t. Ber.* 2.1: "One who recites the *shemaʿ* must mention the exodus from Egypt in [the benediction following the *shemaʿ* which begins] 'True and firm'. Rabbi says, 'In it [that benediction] one must mention [God's] Sovereignty'. Others say, 'In it one must mention the smiting of the first born [in Egypt] and [the miracle of] the splitting of the sea'" (trans. Neusner). There is evidence that the Decalogue was also recited alongside the Shema in some settings well into the Late Antique period, and also that other texts such as Numbers 22–24 may have been recited as part of the Shema in some circles (cf. *b. Ber.* 12b; here R. Abbahu b. Zutrathi states that some earlier rabbis included in the Shema a section of the Balak episode). See also J. Mann, "Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of Service," *HUCA* 2 (1925): 269–338.

[79] See Reif, *Hebrew Prayer*, 144.

of their inclusion of both the Decalogue and Deut 6:4.[80] Because the Nash Papyrus lacks any indication of blessings or other liturgical characteristics, it is difficult to know what function it served and whether it was a liturgical text. Moreover, while we do not know definitively the contents of the Nash Papyrus in their entirety, Deut 6:4–5 begins in the last few lines of the sheet and appear more like a conclusion, or epilogue, rather than the central central focus of the document.[81]

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[80] Many scholars today date the papyrus to about 150 BCE, following Albright's original paleographic dating of the document to the Maccabean period ("A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: The Nash Papyrus," *JBL* 56 [1937]: 145–76). Others, however, have given the papyrus a much later date. Cook's paleographic analysis led him to conclude a date to the second century CE ("A Pre-Masoretic Biblical Payprus," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 25 [1903]: 34–56). Papyrologists H. Bell and H. Youtie also placed the date of the script between 50 and 150 CE. Bell writes: "Though usually reluctant to be very positive on questions of dating I feel very confident in this case that the papyrus is Roman, not Ptolemaic. I should date it, with less hesitation than usual, in the latter part of the first or the early part of the second century A.D." (quoted from Albright, "A Biblical Fragment," 146). E. Sukenik also favored a first century CE date (E. Sukenik, *Megilloth Genuzot* I, [Jerusalem, 1948], 14). In his own paleographic study, Trevor dated the papyrus to 50 CE ("A Paleographic Study of the Jerusalem Scrolls," *BASOR* 13 [1949]: 23). In Trevor's article Albright added an editorial note suggesting that at present "this date is probably safest" (23, n. 65a). Cross prefers Albright's original date of 150 BCE ("The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran," *JBL* 74 [1955]: 148).

[81] The Nash papyrus contains the Decalogue (a version which seems to follow LXX Deut 5:6–21, 6:3–5 but also harmonizes somewhat with Exod 20:1–17) and Deut 6:4–5 (although there are only a few trace letters after Deut 6:4 and it is difficult to verify whether the text continues with verse 5). The top and left margin survive and the small size of the document gives the impression that it consisted of only one column of text, beginning with Exod 20:2 in line 1, "[I am the L]ord your God who [brought] you out of E[gypt . . ." and ending with Deut 6:4–5 in l. 23, "Hea[r O Israe]l, the Lord our God is one: and you shall [love the Lord your]G[od will al]l y[our heart . . .].

One option might be that the Nash Papyrus is a phylactery text. The content, the folds in the material, and its textual affinities with the phylacteries found at Qumran (i.e. 4QPhyl B, and 8QPhyl) might indicate such a function (Baumgarten, "Invented Tradition," 206, n. 38 notes that Nash Papyrus was folded a number of times and that it was probably part of a set of tefillin or a mezuzah. See also Y. Cohn, *Tangled Up in Text: Tefillin and the Ancient World* [Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2008], 68, 100). If this is correct, the Nash Papyrus likely was not used in a daily liturgical setting. This is the recent conclusion of Yehuda Cohn in his study of the use of phylacteries in the ancient world, *Tangled Up in Text*; idem, "Were Tefillin Phylacteries?" *JJS* 59 (2008): 39–61. Cohn argues, based on a comparative analysis of phylacteries within the larger Greco-Roman world, that these religious implements most often functioned as amulets and were worn over an extended period of time rather than at daily set times. In his analysis of the Qumran phylacteries, Cohn has argued that a major theme in these documents is the commandment to bind the "words" commanded by God to one's body; in doing so, one would be granted the promise of a long-life as stated in Deut 11:21. In his view, this was the purpose of at least some of the phylacteries at Qumran (Cohn, "Were Tefillin Phylacteries," 40–1).

The same holds true for the Qumran phylacteries. Only two phylactery texts, 4QPhyl B (4Q129) and 8Q3, combine the Decalogue with other scriptural portions that include the Shema.[82] Two phylacteries, 4QPhyl A and J, end at Deut 6:3, before the "Hear O Israel," while 4QPhyl O seems to include only Deut 6:7–9 with only a partial list of the laws of the Decalogue. The majority of these texts make no explicit connection between

[82] These three charts are taken from E. Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 587. Tov, following Milik (DJD VI, 46), divides the phylacteries according certain characteristics which he believes to be indicative of two different halachic systems. The top chart represents a Qumran scribal practice, the bottom chart a pharisaic system. The phylacteries from the third chart also do not conform to Qumran practice (cf. "*Tefillin* of Different Origin at Qumran," in *A Light for Jacob: Studies in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Jacob Shalom Licht* [ed. Y. Hoffman and F. Polak; Jerusalem: The Bailik Institute, 1997], 47, 53):

Phylacteries	Deut	Deut	Deut	Exodus
A	5:1–14, 5:27–6:3	10:12–11:12, 13–21	——	12:43–51; 13:1–7
B	5:1–6:3, 4–5	——	——	13:9–16
G	5:1–21	——	——	13:11–12
H	5:22–6:3, 4–5	——		13:14–16
I	6:6–7(?)	11:13–21	——	12:43–51; 13:1–10
J	5:1–32; 6:2–3		——	——
K	——	10:12–11:12	——	——
L	5:7–24	——	——	——
M	5:33–6:3, 4–5	——	——	12:44–51; 13:1–10
N		——	32:14–20, 32–33	——
O	5:1–16; 6:7–9	——	——	——
P	——	10:22–11:3, 18–21	——	——
Q	——	11:4–12, 13–18	——	13:4–9

Phylacteries	Exod	Deut	Deut
C	13:1–16	6:4–9	11:13–21
D	——	——	11:13–21
E	13:1–9	——	——
F	13:11–16	——	——
R	13:1–10	——	——
S	——	——	11:19–21

Phylacteries	Exod	Deut	Deut
1Q13	13:2–9	10:17–18, 10:21–11:12	5:23–27
8Q3	12:43–51; 13:1–16	5:1–14, 6:1–3, 4–9	10:12–19,20–22; 11:1–12, 13–21

the Decalogue and the Shema of Deut 6:4.[83] Moreover, when Deut 6:4–5 does appear, as in 4QPhyl C, it does not contain the Decalogue, resembling the practice found in rabbinic Judaism.[84]

The rare occurrence of Deut 6:4–5 in the Qumran phylacteries indicates that if they reflect any sort of liturgical purpose, it was at a time when the biblical passages of the traditional Shema liturgy, particularly Deut 6:4–5, had not yet reached a state of conventional uniformity. The variety of texts encapsulated reflect a lack of organized effort to implement a liturgical practice in which Deut 6:4 is the central component. Rather than attesting to a daily Shema liturgy that included the Decalogue, as in *m. Tamid*, the passages in the phylacteries are most frequently related to themes of the commandments (the Decalogue), binding them to one's body, and teaching them to one's children. This is especially seen in the excerpted texts copied in the phylacteries that contain passages from Deuteronomy 5, 10–11, and Exodus 12–13. When we consider that the Deuteronomic injunction to recite "words" (דברים) "when you lie down and get up" (Deut 6:6–7) may have been interpreted as a reference to the Decalogue (cf. Exodus 20 where God speaks the words [דברים] of the Decalogue),[85] we arrive at the intriguing possibility that one of the purposes of the Nash Papyrus and Qumran phylacteries is the teaching of, and education about, the Decalogue and the benefits of adhering to God's commandments (see also

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[83] Milik argued that G, H, and I were encapsulated in the same phylactery (DJD VI, p. 58), as were J and K (p. 64), L, M, and N (p. 70), and D, E, and F (p. 56). If he is correct, this still leaves a number of phylacteries without Deut 6:4 (i.e. phylactery D, E, and F; J and K).

[84] Rabbinic halakha maintains that phylacteries must contain four passages: Exod 13:1–10, 11–16; Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21. If the conventional Shema liturgy existed in the Second Temple period, could this mean that the Decalogue was already being excised from it in some traditions already in this period?

[85] Abraham ibn Ezra, for example, argued that the recitation of "words" in Deut 6:6–7 refers to the Decalogue, not the Shema. Perhaps he had in mind the opening of the Decalogue in Exod 20:1, which states that God spoke "these words" (כל הדברים האלה; see *Sefer Devarim* [Torat Chaim Chumash; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1993], 56). See also *b. Ber*. 21a, where R. Abaye argues that Deut 6:6–7 refers to "words of Torah," not the Shema liturgy (see also Jer 11:8). Modern commentators are quite divided how on to interpret "these words" in Deut 6:6. R. Nelson, for example writes, "It is difficult to decide whether "these words" (v. 6) refer narrowly to vv. 4–5 or to v. 4b alone, to the preceding Decalogue (cf. 5:33), or to the entire upcoming parenetic section (cf. 11:18–20). However, the phrase "commanding you today" suggests the whole of Deuteronomy is intended" (R. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002], 91). D. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9* (WBC 6a; Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001), 141–2, writes, "'These words'" refers to the book of Deuteronomy and are to be taught diligently to every adult member of the community; and they are to be taught diligently to their children."

4QDeut^{n,j}), not the declaration of monotheism.[86] The strong emphasis on Torah instruction is a theme much more apparent than daily prayer, both in Deuteronomy and many other Second Temple period texts.[87] Thus, while the recitation of the Decalogue in *m. Tamid* 5.1 is certainly congruent with the Nash Papyrus and the Qumran phylacteries, the rest of the liturgy described in *m. Tamid* 5.1—Deut 6:4–9, 11:13–21, Num 15:37–41, and the blessings—appears anachronistic and thus not an accurate reflection of the daily cultic service in the Jerusalem temple.

3) Finally, if *m. Tamid* 5.1 reflects accurately the priestly recitation of the daily Shema liturgy in the morning sacrificial service, it is intriguing that *m. Berakhot* lacks any attempt to link morning prayer with sacrifice. The connection between prayer and sacrifice occurs often in rabbinic literature, and even in *m. Berakhot*, the timing of the evening Shema is related to the daily routine of the temple priests. If the redactor of *m. Berakhot* knew of the service described in *m. Tamid* 5.1, there is no attempt to include this connection in the discussion of the Shema in *m. Ber.* 1–2.[88]

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[86] The amateur quality of the Nash papyrus script demonstrates that the text was likely for personal use, perhaps indicating that this papyrus was used somehow for memorization and education in a private setting. G. Brooke also notes the prominence of the teaching theme in Qumran phylacteries. His argument is based on the textual additions made in 4QPhyl G, but adds that, "the perspective of the addition fits both with the presence of a considerable number of phylacteries at Qumran and the emphasis in the sectarian compositions on teaching and study" ("Deuteronomy 5–6 in the Phylacteries from Qumran Cave 4," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* [ed. S. Paul, R. Kraft, L. Schiffman, W. Fields; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 68–9). Tov also cites education as one of the main functions of excerpted texts of poetry and prose in antiquity (Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated," *RevQ* 16 [1995]: 598).

[87] See D. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: The Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 228. In light of the fact that the emphasis in Deuteronomy is on God's commandments, the inclusion of Deut 6:4–5 in the Nash Papyrus and some phylacteries could suggest that the two injunctions "Hear O Israel . . . ," and "Love the Lord . . ." were considered to be a commandment studied along with the Decalogue. It is interesting to note that in the Mark's gospel, for example, when asked which is the most important of God's commandments, Jesus responds by citing Deut 6:4–5 together as one commandment, followed by Lev 19:18 as the second most important commandment (cf. Mark 12:29–30). In a recent essay Kimelman asserts a similar claim, suggesting that the Decalogue perhaps had priority early in the development of the liturgy, but that by "amoraic times the usurpation of the role of the Decalogue by the Shema made any recitation of the Decalogue superfluous" (p. 68). See R. Kimelman, "Polemics and Rabbinic Liturgy," in *Discussing Cultural Influences: Text, Context, and Non-Text in Rabbinic Judaism* (ed. R. Ulmer; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007), 59–97.

[88] Rabbi Judah in *b. Ber.* 12a was aware of, and uncomfortable with, the incongruities of the Shema liturgy as recorded in *m. Berakhot* and *m. Tamid* and attempted to explain these differences by arguing that, 1) the contents of *m. Berakhot* and *m. Tamid* 5.1 are contemporary with each other (i.e. from the Second Temple period), but that 2) the priests had a different liturgy (*m. Tamid* 5.1) than those outside the temple (*m. Berakhot*). *B. Ber.*

While the version of the Shema liturgy in *m. Tamid* 5.1 may appear older than the one in *m. Berakhot*, its existence as a temple liturgy is not corroborated by any other Second Temple period sources. The Levites engaged in their hymnic service alongside the sacrifices, the Hallel was probably sung at appointed times, and certain liturgies were recited on festivals and special days. Indeed, the assertions from the Mishnah about temple service are late and must be carefully scrutinized. Recollection of the temple service as an ancient institution was not worth remembering simply for posterity and accurate historical record. Rather, as a number of recent studies have highlighted, rabbinic historiography was highly ideological and self-serving.[89] While the rabbis were not oblivious to historical change, historiography provided for them a means of fortifying their customs and legal rulings, and we should approach *m. Tamid* 5.1 with the same expectations; in other words, the antiquity of this custom may be exaggerated, and the image of a well-developed Shema liturgy within the temple precincts may have been included in the tractate for the purpose of giving the (rabbinic) custom prestige.

Another rhetorical strategy may be at play in this text: recounting the temple service within a rabbinic text further transfers implicitly cultic expertise and authority from priestly to rabbinic hands, and as such reflects an early power struggle between two ruling classes in the land of Israel. Given that we have no other evidence that a daily Shema liturgy was recited in the Jerusalem temple in the Second Temple period (see below for further discussion), it seems more likely that this text retrojects the place of the Shema liturgy back to the Jerusalem temple. The question, however, still remains: Even if the details of *m. Tamid* 5.1

12a states that the people outside the temple wanted to recite the Shema together with the Decalogue like the priests inside, but did not because of the *minim*. Here *b. Ber.* 12a quotes *m. Tamid* 5.1 ("They recited the Ten Commandments, the Shema', the sections 'And it shall come to pass,' and 'And the Lord said,' 'True and Certain,' the 'Abodah, and the 'priestly benediction'") and adds, "Rabbi Judah said in the name of Samuel: Outside the Temple people also wanted to do the same, but they were stopped on account of the insinuations of the Minim." It is certainly an anachronism to suggest that the *minim*, as a rabbinic category, existed in the Second Temple period.

[89] For further discussion of the function of rabbinic historiography in a post-temple age, see Y. Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Washington: University of Washington Press, repr. 2005); J. Neusner, *The Idea of History in Rabbinic Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); I. Gafni, "Rabbinic Historiography and Representations of the Past," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (ed. C. E. Fonrobert and M. S. Jaffee; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 295–312; J. Avery-Peck, "Judaism Without the Temple: The Mishnah," in *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (ed. H. Attridge and G. Hata; Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1992), esp. 417–24.

are anachronistic, might priests still have engaged in some form of daily prayer in the temple? I will now turn to discuss this possibility.

5. The Influence of the Temple in the Development of Daily Fixed Prayer

In light of what has been discussed thus far, it is appropriate to ask: What role did the temple play in the development of fixed prayer practices?[90] This question is complex, even paradoxical, because, while we witness the close connection between prayer and sacrifice, both in spontaneous situations and in regular services such as the Levitical service of daily psalmody, we have very little evidence of a fixed *daily* prayer service or even prayer on a daily basis in the temple that directly involved priests and/or the general public. Instead, the evidence available to us indicates that priests, at least during the writing and redaction of P, were not interested in legislating prayer as part of the daily sacrificial rite, as we find no prescriptive or descriptive evidence of priestly prayer or verbal worship as part of the daily sacrificial service. From the earliest strata within P all the way to Ezekiel's exilic Law of the Temple (Ezek 40–48), there is almost complete silence regarding the connection between priestly prayer and sacrifice. It seems that prayer had no official status within the confines of the daily priestly rites in the temple; it was this absence that led Kaufman to describe Israel's temple as a "kingdom of silence."[91]

Later texts, such as the priestly book of *Jubilees*, are also silent on the connection between prayer and daily sacrifice. This absence is particularly

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[90] E. Regev sees fixed prayer as originating in the temple because the priests had the ability to legislate such an institution, and because of the already inherent connection between prayer and sacrifice ("The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer in Israel," 5–29). Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 254 also sees the majority of prayers in the Second Temple period as deriving in some way from the Jerusalem temple: "Every element of the Yahad's daily liturgy can be related to practices which had come to be associated with the daily Temple service, among the priestly service, the temple singers, and the popular prayers of the people."

[91] Regarding this "silence" in P, see Y. Kaufman, *The Religion of Israel* (trans. M. Greenberg; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 303ff.; I. Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995); idem, "Between Voice and Silence: The Relationship Between Prayer and Temple Cult," *JBL* 115 (1996): 17–30; M. Haran, "Cult and Prayer," in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* (ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauser; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 87–91, esp. 89–91; J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary* (ABC 3; New York : Doubleday, 1991), 60–1; Heinemann, *Prayer*, 123.

striking in the book's account of both the daily incense and whole burnt sacrifices. Regarding the former, the author of *Jubilees* writes that Adam instituted the morning incense offering before leaving the Garden of Eden and Enoch instituted the evening incense sacrifice on the mountain of Qater (4:23–26), but neither patriarch utters any words of prayer. After surviving the flood, Noah instituted the daily whole burnt offering, the blood of which atoned for the land (6:14), and he also remains silent. Given the strong correlation in the texts we surveyed in this chapter, not only between prayer and incense but also prayer at sunrise and in the evening, it would not have been unusual for Adam and Enoch to say a prayer while instituting the incense sacrifice, nor would it have been unusual for Noah to say a prayer alongside his whole burnt sacrifice.

In light of the fact that *Jubilees* shows special interest in cultic matters and ritual detail, and likely reflects priestly authorship (or at the very least influence), I suggest that the absence of prayer in these stories reaffirms what we have just stated regarding the place of daily prayer in the temple: priestly prayer did not take place during the daily service as an official component of the ritual. In my view, if priests had prayed daily alongside temple sacrifices, it would have made sense for *Jubilees*' priestly author to have included some indication of this.[92]

In his description of the daily service in *Ant.* 3.224–236, 237–257, Josephus, like *Jubilees*, conspicuously leaves out any hint of psalms or prayers alongside the daily sacrifices. The absence of daily prayer in the temple is striking: Where Josephus, a priest from Jerusalem, does discuss daily prayer, prayer belongs in the private realm of the household (*Ant.* 4.212);[93] moreover, the timing of daily prayer in this passage is coordinated with one's daily schedule, not the temple sacrifices,[94] and is linked to Torah study and meditation. The connection of prayer with

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[92] For a general article on the incense sacrifice in *Jubilees* see J. VanderKam, "Adam's Incense Offering (Jubilees 3:37)," *Megillot* 5–6 (2008): 141–56.

[93] Josephus discusses prayer in connection with sacrifices in *Ag. Ap.* 2.195–98. In §196 he writes: "And during sacrifices one must first pray for common safety, and often after that for oneself, because we are born for the community." However, in the section immediately prior to this passage (§195) Josephus writes about the prohibition of drunkenness at the time of the sacrifice. Such a prohibition is much more apt for a festival setting than a daily sacrifice, and thus it is likely that Josephus is speaking of prayer at a festival at §196 rather than at the daily sacrifices. In another text, *Life* 290, 295 Josephus describes getting together for a "customary service" of prayer. This gathering, however, takes place in the context of a public fast; no indication is made that the "customary service" was a daily event.

[94] See the discussion of this passage in Chapter Two.

Torah is also recounted in Sirach, where, in describing the activities of scribes, Ben Sira mentions that the scribe should rise early "to seek the Lord who made him, and to petition the Most High," to "open his mouth in prayer and ask pardon for his sins" (39:5). Nothing is mentioned here of sacrifice or praying alongside sacrifice.

One could argue that the presence of a Levitical service of daily psalmody in the temple exerted some influence on the development of daily worship practices; but, in Second Temple period texts that discuss Levitical psalmody, the custom is seen to be a professional duty that involved a high degree of technical skill, something in which the general public did not participate formally. As already mentioned, Philo makes this point in *Moses* 2.159–173, where he states that the duty of the Levites to pray in the temple came about precisely because of the people's impiety and their inability to worship God correctly. The idea that prayer was a professional duty is also found in Josephus, *Ant.* 3.191, a text which states that, in addition to his priestly duties, Aaron prayed on behalf of the people because of his special status.[95] There is no indication of a fixed regular prayer service or that priests and the laity prayed together.

Indeed, in the passages just reviewed, we find no hint that temple authorities were interested in legislating daily prayer practices for the general public. Instead, popular participation in the sacrificial services for those in Jerusalem consisted primarily of viewing the service and reciting spontaneous prayers (i.e. Sir 50; Luke 1; Acts 3:1), and for the public in general, including those is the Diaspora, the half-shekel temple tax was another way to contribute, participate, and even affect atonement for the community.[96]

In light of the fact that we continue to see a correlation between prayer and sacrifice, a useful way to navigate the absence of fixed daily prayer in the temple may be to think about the influence that the temple and its sacrificial services had on prayer in ways that are formal and informal. Formally, aside from daily psalmody, we lack evidence that temple authorities intentionally instituted daily prayer to correspond to the daily sacrifices. Informally, however, it seems that a general cultic '*imaginaire*'[97]

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[95] Josephus also understood formal prayer as a professional duty; see T. Jonquière, *Prayer in Josephus* (Ancient Judaism and Christianity; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 51.

[96] See note 61 in the Introduction.

[97] I use the term *imaginaire* as defined and discussed by Stökl Ben Ezra in *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 8–10; idem, "Yom Kippur in the Apocalyptic *Imaginaire* and the Roots of Jesus' High Priesthood. Yom Kippur in Zechariah 3, *1Enoch* 10, 11QMelkizedeq, Hebrews and the Apocalypse of Abraham 13," in *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions*

existed in the Second Temple period (and earlier), in which prayer and sacrifice were mutually inclusive and reciprocally beneficial. This '*imaginaire*' would have been fostered by the preeminence of sacrifice and the desire to communicate with the divine, and would have been encouraged during festivals and other visits to the temple by the general public.

Nevertheless, I suggest that the temple was not the center of any formal attempts to promote or prescribe fixed daily prayer. Going to the temple to pray seems to have been perceived as a practice of personal piety—certainly not of not communal obligation. Participation in the sacrificial services of the temple consisted of tithing, watching the sacrifices, hearing the Levitical choirs, paying the temple tax, and receiving the priestly blessing. Whatever prayers were said amongst the general public at the temple appear to have been spontaneous and only informally connected to the temple services.

6. Conclusions

In this chapter I have traced some of the processes that enabled fixed daily prayer to develop as an institution by focusing on the relationship between prayer and sacrifice. Even though spontaneous prayers were not strictly governed by fixed characteristics, I have argued that, nevertheless, a general cultic '*imaginaire*' existed at this time that influenced prayer practices. Before fixed daily prayer was established, the most auspicious time to pray was during the daily sacrifices; or, at the very least, prayer was coordinated to coincide with the timing of the cultic service. The one praying remained in control of what to say—nothing strictly obligatory or prescribed existed for daily prayer at this time—yet sacrificial practices still provided a temporal framework for praying.

As fixed daily prayer became an important form of worship, we begin to observe in some texts an attempt to provide an account of origins—an etiology—that regarded prayer as a legitimate institution no longer subordinate to sacrifice. In 1 Chronicles 16 we see for the first time a conscious reflection on the origins of daily psalmody and an overt effort to legitimize its existence as an essential component of the temple cult.

(ed. J. Assman and G. Stroumsa; Numen Book Series 83; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 349. By using the term *imaginaire*, Stökl Ben Ezra is referring to concepts and motifs shared by a social group that are not necessarily part of any foundational or mythic narrative pertaining to the origins of the group.

The preeminence of sacrifice, however, made an analogy between prayer and sacrifice imperfect while temple sacrifices were still performed. Fixed daily prayer could never achieve any functional equivalence to sacrifice within the temple precincts; it was only after sacrifices had ended that daily prayer could be properly grounded in a sacrificial analogy and the claim could be made that prayer could achieve the same effect as sacrifice.[98] In other words, it is my view that only after the temple had been destroyed, and a replacement for sacrifice was needed, was daily prayer made fully and formally analogous to the system of daily temple sacrifices. This connection, most fully developed in rabbinic literature, does not just consist of linking times of sacrifice with the set times of daily prayer; rather, we see a much more sophisticated and theologically informed development in which prayer was understood as a transfigured or mimetic replacement for sacrifice.[99] This attitude towards prayer and sacrifice contrasts with the texts we surveyed in this chapter, in which prayer seems to be linked to sacrifice as a natural impulse of worship. Sacrifice, as the preeminent form of worship, was believed to have the ability to enhance the effect of prayer, but while the temple still stood prayer was seldom if ever presented as truly analogous or functionally equivalent to sacrifice. If this attitude did exist, it remained latent until sacrifices had ceased.[100]

Thus in the Second Temple period the connection between daily prayer and sacrifice was informal, particularly in the temple precincts, where

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[98] Cf. R. Kimelman, "Rabbinic Prayer in Late Antiquity," in vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (ed. S. T. Katz; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 574, 82.

[99] "Prayer is in the place of sacrifice" (*b. Ber.* 26b). For a discussion of the parallels drawn between rabbinic prayer and temple sacrifices see R. Langer, *To Worship God Properly: Tensions Between Liturgical Custom and Halakhah in Judaism* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1998), 5–19; C. Perkins, "The Evening Shema: A Study in Rabbinic Consolation," *Judaism* 43 (1994): 27–36. See M. Fishbane, "Substitutes for Sacrifice in Judaism," in *The Exegetical Imagination: On Jewish Thought and Theology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 123–35. Both Fine and Kimelman have recently discussed the deliberate attempt of the rabbis to model rabbinic concepts and practices upon the temple. See Kimelman, "Rabbinic Prayer in Late Antiquity," 573–608; S. Fine, *This Holy Place: On the Sanctity of the Synagogue During the Greco-Roman Period* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 11; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 49–59; idem, "Between Liturgy and Social History: Priestly Power in Late Antique Palestinian Synagogues," *JJS* 56 (2005): 6–7.

[100] It is indeed very difficult to say why daily prayers were excluded from the official cultic service. Perhaps, if prayer recited alongside sacrifice helped to elucidate the purpose of the sacrifice, the absence of daily prayer in the temple indicates a confidence in the effectiveness of this ancient institution.

prayer was seen as a professional duty that should not include the ritual participation of the general public. After 70 CE, as the status of prayer achieved greater importance, and as the living memory of performing actual sacrifices faded, a conscious and deliberate discussion in rabbinic Judaism developed around the absence of sacrifice and how prayer could take its place.

The question remains though: If the cult in Jerusalem had little formal impact by way of legislating set times for prayer, and if sacrifice only influenced the development of fixed daily prayer in an informal manner, what other strategies were at play that enabled the establishment of fixed daily prayer? In the next chapter we will examine how daily prayer was legitimized by rooting the custom within sacred scripture.

CHAPTER TWO

SCRIPTURE AND DAILY PRAYER

1. Introduction

Creating an analogy between prayer and sacrifice was not the only strategy for explaining how one ought to pray and why daily prayer was important. In a number of Second Temple period texts that describe daily prayer we find recourse to sacred scripture as a means of legitimizing daily prayer. Here, the pattern of daily prayer may at first glance resemble the timing of the daily sacrifices in the morning and afternoon/evening. The strategies involved in giving legitimacy to daily prayer are, however, unrelated to the timing of sacrifices. Instead, a verse or historical narrative from scripture is invoked to legitimize the custom and explain its origins.

In this chapter I will first examine two passages that explicitly link prayer with scripture. 1) In the case of *Let. Aris.* §158–60 a precedent for daily prayer is found in Deut 6:7: "Recite them to your children and talk about them when you are at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you rise." 2) In *Ant.* 4.212, Josephus likewise alludes to Deut 6:7; but, in addition, his account of daily prayer credits Moses as the originator of fixed daily prayer. Allusions to Deut 6:7 are also found in 1QS X 10–14, and since some scholars claim that this passage implies daily prayer, I have included it in this chapter as a third passage.[1] I will

[1] Cf., e.g., S. Talmon, "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judaean Desert," *RevQ* 2 (1959–60): 489–90; idem, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in Light of Qumran Literature," in *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 200–43. Talmon suggested that 1QS X 8b–14 evinces an extensive 'Manual of Benedictions' that the Qumran community recited. This interpretation has largely been abandoned, although many scholars continue to interpret 1QS X 10, 13–14 as allusions to the Shema liturgy. See e.g. M. Wiese, *Kultzeiten und Kultischer Bundesschluss in der 'Ordensrege' vom toten Meer* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 27–32, 44; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), 245; E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM, 1992), 196; M. Weinfeld, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research. Papers Read at a Symposium Sponsored by Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi at the University of Haifa and at Tel Avivi University March 20–24, 1988* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 241–57; L. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994),

investigate not only how Deut 6:7 has been used in this passage (i.e. does it serve as a prooftext for daily prayer?), but also if 1QS X 10–14 alludes to the custom of daily prayer as some scholars suggest.

Finally, because much of the discussion in this chapter is focused on Deut 6:7, we must inevitably include in our discussion the question of the origins of the daily Shema liturgy (e.g. Deut 6:4–9 with blessings).[2] In the earliest discussions of the Shema liturgy, in *m. Ber.* 1.3, Deut 6:7 was interpreted as a prescription for when to recite the Shema. Since many scholars posit that the Shema liturgy originated in the Second Temple period,[3]

293; A. Baumgarten, "Invented Traditions of the Maccabean Era," in vol. 1 of *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. J. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 207; D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 112–23; C. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 172, 182–3; R. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Brill: Leiden, 2006), 118–9, 133.

[2] The Shema liturgy, in its fully developed form, is comprised of three scriptural passages (Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num 15:37–41) encapsulated by blessings—three for the morning, and four for the evening—and is to be recited according to the injunction in Deut 6:7, "when you lie down and when you get up." See *m. Ber.* 1.3. The standard Shema liturgy today is comprised of two blessings before the recitation of biblical passages, "Who forms light and creates darkness" (*Yotzer ʾOr*), "With Abounding Love" (*ʾAhavah Rabbah*); "True and Certain" (*ʾEmet Ve-Yaziv*) is recited after. The evening Shema contains the blessings "Thy word brings on the evening twilight" (*Maʿariv ʿAravim*), and "With Everlasting Love," (*ʾAhavat ʿOlam*). "True and Trustworthy" (*ʾEmet ve-ʾEmunah*) and "Cause Us to Lie Down in Peace" (*Hashkivenu*) are recited after. These passages are regarded as the summation of Israel's religion: the oneness of God, and the duty to love God through taking up the 'yoke of the commandments' (cf. *m. Ber.* 2.2). The current literary form of the conventional Shema liturgy, with its biblical portions and blessings, is arranged according to the themes of creation, revelation, and redemption. For a discussion of these three themes see R. Kimelman, "The Shemaʿ and Its Rhetoric: The Case for The Shemaʿ Being More than Creation, Revelation, and Redemption," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 2 (1992): 111–56.

I adopt Kimelman's title "Shema liturgy," instead of the usual title, "Shema and its Blessings" ("The Shemaʿ Liturgy: From Covenant Ceremony to Coronation," in *Kenishta: Studies of the Synagogue World* [ed. J. Tabory; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2001], 11). The use of the term "liturgy" focuses our attention on the ritual aspects of the Shema. The term "liturgy" is used to define prayer that has entered into the public domain as a practice of the community at large. Liturgy, however, is not restricted to prayer that is ritualized within public congregational service; one can perform the Shema privately, but there must be a collective agreement amongst the community regarding the content of the liturgy and a willingness to perform it somewhat uniformly, including the times of recitation.

[3] One often finds the assertion that after the Babylonian exile a shift in the religious ethos of Israel occurred, and that this shift resulted in a widespread undertaking of daily prayer practices in which the recitation of Deut 6:4 together with blessings became a major focus. This shift in ethos is often described as a democratization of worship (see note 26 in the Introduction). It is within the sources from the Second Temple period

a tangential question in this chapter will be to determine if the pattern of daily worship described in *Let. Aris.* §158–60 and Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212 (and possibly 1QS X 10–14) is synonymous with the daily Shema liturgy, or whether these texts refer to a more general custom of daily prayer.

2. *Let. Aris.* §158–160

One of the earliest potential witnesses to the use of Deut 6:7 as a proof-text for the custom of daily prayer is found in the *Letter of Aristeas*, which was probably written in Alexandria around the mid to late second century BCE:

> (§158) Accordingly in the matter of meats and drinks he commands men to offer first fruits and to consume them there then straightaway. Furthermore in our clothes he has given us a distinguishing mark as a reminder, and similarly on our gates and doors he has commanded us to set up the "Words," (τὰ λόγια)[4] so as to be a reminder of God. (§159) He also strictly commands that the sign shall be worn on our hands, clearly indicating that it is our duty to fulfill every activity with justice, having in mind our own condition, and above all the fear of God. (§160) He also commands that "on going to bed and

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that we begin to see clearly an interest in the Shema verses develop within devotional and liturgical contexts (cf. Neh 9:6; Ps-Philo, *L.A.B.* 23:1–14; *Jub.* 12:19). The texts commonly cited as evidence of a Second Temple period Shema are *m. Tamid* 5.1, the Nash Papyrus, the Qumran phylacteries, *Let. Aris.* §158–60, Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212, Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.141–142, and 1QS X 10–14. See, e.g. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 113, 115, 236–7; E. Regev, "The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer in Israel: Factors and Processes in the Development of Fixed Prayer in the Second Temple Period," *Zion* 70 (2005): 4–5; J. Tabory, "Prayers and Berakhot," in *The Literature of the Sages. Second Part: Midrash and Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science, and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature* (ed. S. Safrai et al.; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 290; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 349ff.; idem, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," 241–58; E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law From Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: SCM Press, 1990), 75; idem, *Judaism: Practice and Belief*, 196; S. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Library of Early Christianity 7; Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1987), 69; Baumgarten, "Invented Traditions of the Maccabean Era," 207; D. J. Verseput, "James 1:17 and Jewish Morning Prayers," *NovT* 39 (1997): 177–91; L. Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, Volume 3: Judean Antiquities 1–4* (ed. S. Mason; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 406; B. Gerhardsson, *The Shema in the New Testament: Deut 6:4–5 In Significant Passages* (Lund: Novapress, 1996); Talmon, "The 'Manual of Benedictions,'" 489; G. Vermes, "Pre-Mishnaic Jewish Worship and the Phylacteries from the Dead Sea," *VT* 9 (1959): 65–72; O. Holtmann, "Die täglichen Gebetsstunden im Judentum und Urschristentum," *ZNW* 12 (1911): 90–104.

[4] Instead of "Words," B. Wright translates τὰ λόγια as "sayings." See B. Wright, "Three Ritual Practices in *Aristeas* §158–160," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 12.

> rising" men should meditate (μελετάω)[5] on the ordinances of God, observing not only in word but in understanding the movement and impression which they have when they go to sleep (ὕπνος), and waking (ἔγερσις) too, what a divine change there is between them—quite beyond understanding.[6]

Outside of biblical legislation, *Let. Aris.* is the first known text to mention that Jews wore fringes (Num 15:38–39; Deut 22:12) and phylacteries (Deut 6:8; 11:18), and set up *mezuzot* (Deut 6:9; 11:20). The passage then quotes Deut 6:7 and claims that each day, "on going to bed and rising," Jews meditate on the "ordinances of God." Many scholars are convinced that this passage attests to the daily liturgical recitation of the Shema although this is not explicit in the text.[7]

There are two important features in this text that must be addressed: 1) the meaning of "on going to bed and rising" in §160, and 2) the use of the term μελετάω (meditation) to describe the activity that God commands at these times. Regarding the first feature, in §160 the author quotes LXX Deut 6:7 (καὶ κοιταζόμενος καὶ διανιστάμενος) but leaves out the first half of the phrase, "when you stay at home and when you are away." In the biblical period there is no evidence to suggest that the phrase "when you lie down and get up" was read literally as an injunction for the daily meditation or recitation. Rather as Kimelman notes, the phrase

> 'Recite them when you stay at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you get up' (Deut 6:7), denotes a merism whereby both pairs of contrasting phrases are meant as merisms, which by noting the poles of the spectrum, include everything in between.[8]

In *Let. Aris.*, however, the quotation is only of the second half of the verse "on going to bed and rising," indicating that the author of *Let. Aris.* is moving beyond the intended merism of Deut 6:7—study at all times—to a more literal understanding of the verse in which one is to meditate on

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[5] B. Wright translates μελετάω as "study" (in "Three Ritual Practices," 12).

[6] Translation from *OTP* II, 23.

[7] E.g. Kimelman, "The Shemaʿ Liturgy: From Covenant Ceremony to Coronation," 70; idem, "The Shemaʿ and Its Rhetoric," 138; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 47; Bradshaw, *Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 40. Wright leaves out any discussion of the Shema in his article, "Three Ritual Practices," 11–29.

[8] R. Kimelman, "The Shemaʿ Liturgy: From Covenant Ceremony to Coronation," 18, n. 35. See also M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11*, 333; On the affinity between Deut 6:7 and Ps 1:1–2 ("His delight is in the law of the Lord, and on his law he meditates day and night."), see G. André, "'Walk,' 'Stand,' 'Sit,'" *VT* 32 (1982): 327; S. Reif, "Ibn Ezra on Psalm I 1–2," *VT* 34 (1984): 232–6.

God's word when one actually "goes to bed" and "rises." These are the hours of repose and the beginning of activity.[9]

The sense of two specific times is conveyed already in the Septuagint, and the author of *Let. Aris.* keeps this sense in our passage (LXX Deut 6:7b is the only direct quote in *Let. Aris.* §158–160). That is, the Septuagint translates שכב and קום as κοιταζόμενος and διανιστάμενος, narrowing the possible range of meaning to precisely those times of the day when one "goes to bed" and "rises." Note that the Septuagint typically translates the word שכב as κοιμάω and רבץ as κοιταζόμενος. רבץ is specifically related to the act of "lying down," whereas שכב can be used in the contexts of sleep, sex, dying, sickness, and grief. By translating שכב as κοιταζόμενος the Greek translator is attempting to narrow the range of meaning in Deut 6:7. Likewise, קום has a host of meanings (i.e. getting up, standing, resurrection, restoration, leaving) in a variety of different domains,[10] whereas the sense of διανιστάμενος is related to getting up from sleeping.[11] Thus, since the phrase "on going to bed and rising" (καὶ κοιταζόμενος καὶ διανιστάμενος) requires little exegetical imagination as to when one should meditate on God's words, the translation itself is an interpretative move that narrowed the meaning of שכב and קום, and contributed toward establishing fixed daily times for meditation.

It is possible to argue that *Let. Aris.* is simply quoting the LXX and has no actual interest in daily times of study. It appears, however, that part of the purpose of meditating at these two specific times relates directly to the act of sleeping and waking, and the divine mystery of this

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[9] The author of *Let. Aris.* mentions prayer in relation to daily time in one other passage, although it is unrelated to regular daily activity. In *Let. Aris.* §304–305, the author recounts the daily schedule of the scribes translating Hebrew scripture into Greek: "At the first hour of the day they attended the court daily, and after offering salutations to the king, retired to their own quarters. Following the custom of all the Jews, they washed their hands in the sea in the course of their prayers to God, and then proceeded to the reading and explication of each point" (*OTP* II, 33). It seems to me that the author is recounting not a schedule of a daily prayer ritual *per se*, but the schedule of the scribes that translated Hebrew scripture. In this case, "the custom of all Jews," the act of washing before prayer, is related to concerns of purity and worship and is not intrinsically connected with specific times of daily prayer. For the relationship of worship and water, see A. Runesson, "Water and Worship: Ostia and the Ritual Bath in the Diaspora Synagogue," in *The Synagogue of Ancient Ostia and the Jews of Rome: Interdisciplinary Studies* (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag, 2001), 115–29.

[10] J. Gamberoni, "*qûm*," in vol. 12 of *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (ed. G. Botterweck, H. Ringgern, and H.-J. Fabry; trans. D. W. Stott; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 589–612.

[11] See for example Josephus, *Ant.* 6.313.

interchange. Studying or meditating on God's provisions at these times enables one to observe "their own movement and impression," and the "divine and incomprehensible interchange" between sleeping (ὕπνος) and waking (ἔγερσις; see §160).[12]

This interpretation is further strengthened when *Let. Aris.*' interpretation of Deut 6:7 is contrasted with the House of Shammai's interpretation of the same verse in *m. Ber.* 1.3. Here the House of Shammai interprets Deut 6:7 as directions for proper body posture when reciting the Shema liturgy, rather than the time of day (the times of reciting the Shema were previously discussed in *m. Ber* 1.1–2 and assumed to be morning and evening). In the evening one must recite the Shema reclining, but in the morning one must recite the Shema standing, two possible interpretations of שכב and קום. The House of Hillel interjects, arguing that one may recite the Shema either reclining or standing, as Deut 6:7 further states, "And as you walk by the way." Moreover, whereas *m. Ber.* 1.3 stipulates that the Shema ought to be recited at the "*hour* that people lie down" and at the "*hour* that people rise," establishing prayer times according to cultural norms (i.e. when one typically goes to sleep and gets up), *Let. Aris.* connects the meditation on God's word to the actual activity "on going to bed and rising," or as the author clarifies in the next line, of sleep (ὕπνος) and waking (ἔγερσις), thus making the times of meditation relative to one's private schedule.[13] The shift in emphasis in *m. Berakhot* is subtle but it does imply

[12] The meaning of the Greek at *Let. Aris.* §160 is obscure. Perhaps part of the meditation is the change one undergoes from being in a state of sleep to a state of wakefulness? In contrast to *Let. Aris.*, in *m. Ber.* 1.3, Deut 6:7 is interpreted as a prescription for praying at the "*hour* that people lie down . . . and rise," which seems more a prescription following the social convention of one's daily activities. In *Let. Aris.*, however, it seems that prayer is associated with the actual activity of sleeping. In the ancient Greco-Roman world the belief that the soul and body separate during sleep was prevalent. Could this be relevant? See J. Thomson, "Sleep, an Aspect of Jewish Anthropology," *VT* 5 (1955): 428. There are a number of passages from the bible that exhibit a close connection between sleeping and praying and may be relevant: cf. Ps 4:5; Ps 149:5: "Let the faithful exult in glory; let them sing for joy on their couches (משכבותם);" (regarding Ps 149:5, see Th. Booij's article, "Psalm 149,5: 'they shout with joy on their couches,'" *Biblica* 89 [2008]: 104–8.) See also *Sib. Or.* 3.591–593: "At dawn they lift up holy arms toward heaven, from their beds, always sanctifying their flesh with water."

[13] One does on occasion catch a glimpse of a perspective in rabbinic literature that is closer to *Let. Aris.* In *b. Ber.* 4b, Rabbi Joshua b. Levi states: "Though a man has recited the Shema in the synagogue, it is meritorious to recite it again on his bed." Curiously, however, Ps 4:5 ("Tremble and sin not, commune with your own heart on your bed and be still. Selah.") is cited as a prooftext for this injunction, not Deut 6:7. In later times, the practice of reciting the Shema on one's bed was connected to protection against the ominous dangers of the night, including demonic attack (*b. Ber.* 5a; *b. Meg.* 3a; *Midr. Ps.* 4.9).

that for the rabbis it was less important to recite the Shema at the time of "divine change" between sleeping and waking.

The second feature of this text is the use of the verb 'meditate'/'study' (μελετάω) to describe the activity that God commands one to undertake when one "goes to sleep and arises." Aside from contemplating the divine mystery of the change from sleep and wakefulness, what was the subject of meditation, and could it have included prayer? We saw earlier that while *Let. Aris.* quotes LXX Deut 6:7 to recount the times of meditation, *Let. Aris.* describes the activity at these times differently than the Septuagint and the MT (LXX: προβιβάζω, λαλέω; MT: דבר, שנן).[14] Instead of following Deuteronomy's instruction to recite and to speak of certain 'words/commandments' (דברים) "when you sleep and when you rise up," *Let. Aris.* writes that God commanded them to meditate (μελετάω) on the "ordinances of God, observing not only in word but in understanding . . ."

The verb 'to meditate' (μελετάω) is sometimes found in passages in the Septuagint that describe a meditative study of the law (e.g. Josh 1:8 [הגה], Ps 1:2 [הגה]) or of meditation more generally (e.g. Ps 63:7 [הגה], 77:6 [חשב], 119:148 [שיח]). The meditation, according to the text, is upon, "the ordinances of God, observing not only in word but in understanding the movement and impression which they have when they go to sleep, and waking too. . . ." While this phrase is difficult to understand, the author of *Let. Aris.* likely does not have in mind one set text for meditation, something we would expect if the author was alluding to the Shema.

An array of possible texts also seem to be envisioned in the previous line (§158), where we find the phrase "we set up the sayings (τὰ λόγια)," i.e. *mezuzot*, to serve as a reminder of God. Benjamin Wright, after a careful study of this passage, concludes that τὰ λόγια should probably be translated as "utterances" or "sayings" with the sense that these sayings originated from a collection of Jewish legal texts; selections from Deuteronomy or Exodus would have likely been popular, but there is no indication that this collection had been fixed.[15] In the Second Temple period, the range of texts found in phylacteries and *mezuzot* suggests

[14] The order of the text is also different. In *Let. Aris.* the ritual of fringes, *mezuzot*, and phylacteries comes before the injunction, "when you lie down and when you rise up," whereas in the Deut 6:7 these rituals come after.

[15] Wright, "Three Jewish Ritual Practices," 13–21. Note that instead of τὰ λόγια, LXX Deut 6:6 translates "these words" (הדברים האלה) as τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα. In LXX Deuteronomy, ῥῆμα carries the sense of spoken words (e.g. Deut 4:10, 13, 36) whereas λόγος has the sense of a collection of sayings (e.g. Deut 1:1, 18; 9:10; 31:1, 12). In Hebrew דברים, "words," (cf. Deut 1:1; 5:33; 6:6; 12:28; 30:1; 31:1, 28; 32:45) carries the sense of spoken word or a collection of

that while Jews were taking seriously this biblical injunction for these implements, the collection of scriptural passages to be used were not yet fixed and conventional, although we should note that the Decalogue is very well represented. (Notice too that while all three practices listed in *Let. Aris.* are symbolic, the *mezuzot* are the only symbols connected explicitly to biblical texts [τὰ λόγια]. Would those donning phylacteries in Egypt have known the contents encapsulated?) Other excerpted texts containing Deuteronomy (i.e. the Nash Papyrus; 4QDeut^{j,k,l,n}) demonstrate further an increased interest in this book as a popular source for teaching, instruction, reflection, and meditation.[16]

While we do not know the range of texts included in the daily meditation, the author's use of μελετάω implies the inclusion of prayer. In the Septuagint, in addition to contexts of meditating on God's law (Josh 1:8; Ps 1:2) there are numerous passages, particularly in the Psalms (Pss 63:7; 77:6; 119:148) where μελετάω is used to describe meditation in a general sense that would have included formal or informal addresses to God (i.e. prayer). Moreover, in the Second Temple period we begin to see clearly an interest in combining prayers and blessings with scriptural passages, including Deuteronomy.[17]

What the evidence thus demonstrates is that in the Second Temple period Jews read literally the commandment to mediate on "God's words" when one "lies down and gets up." The subject of meditation could include a range of possible texts and likely included prayer. In *Let. Aris.*, it is possible that the author had the book of Deuteronomy in mind, or even specific passages, but there is not enough evidence to justify the position that *Let. Aris.* §158–160 refers specifically to Deut 6:4 and a daily Shema liturgy in which the declaration of monotheism was central.[18] What is

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sayings and could refer either to the Decalogue or perhaps the whole of Deuteronomy. See note 85 in Chapter One for further discussion.

[16] For a brief discussion of phylacteries and excerpted texts, see Chapter One, 4.1. Priestly Prayer in M. Tamid 5.1.

[17] E.g. Neh 9:1–7, esp. vv. 5–6, which includes allusions to Deut 6:4 and the language of blessing.

[18] Many scholars argue that the Shema liturgy was recited daily in the Second Temple period. Some scholars, however, question this position: see A. Mendelson, " 'Did Philo Say the Shema?' and Other Reflections on E. P. Sanders' *Judaism: Practice and Belief*," *The Studia Philonica Annual* 6 (1994): 165–7. He notes that there are many opportunities for Philo to mention the Shema, but that he fails to do so, and concludes that Philo did not know of this liturgy. See also P. Foster, "Did Matthew Get the Shema Wrong? A Study of Matt 22:37," *JBL* 122 (2003): 326–7; T. Zahavy, "The Politics of Piety: Social Conflict and the Emergence of Rabbinic Liturgy," in *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship* (ed. P. Bradshaw and

significant is that *Let. Aris.* §158–160 demonstrates that in the Second Temple period some Jews were appealing to scriptural interpretation, in this case Deut 6:7, to prooftext their daily practice of turning to God twice daily when lying down to bed and rising.

Further, the schedule of the daily cultic services in Jerusalem (or any other cultic center for that matter) plays no role in explaining the timing or importance of this daily routine in *Let. Aris*. §158–160. Instead of temple sacrifice, the author of *Let. Aris.* understood the language of Deut 6:7 to be more suitable for prooftexting a daily routine within the private setting of a household, a setting often overlooked when scholars discuss prayer orgins. As we will see in the discussion of *Ant.* 4.212, Josephus likewise appeals to Deut 6:7 to underline the necessity of daily prayer, and the setting too is within the private household.

3. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212

In his *Antiquities of the Jews*, Josephus writes the following:

> Twice each day, both at its beginning and when the hour comes for turning to sleep, bear witness (μαρτυρέω) to God of the gifts that He granted them when they were delivered from the land of the Egyptians, since gratitude (εὐχαριστία) is proper by nature: it is given in return for those things that have already occurred and as a stimulus for what will be. (*Ant.* 4.212)[19]

This passage is found within a long section, beginning at *Ant*. 4.176, where Josephus sets the stage for Moses to address the Israelites at the Jordan river before they enter Canaan, to exhort them to guard their "ancestral constitution" (4.191). He then summarizes topically this constitution (4.197), beginning with the laws of the Jerusalem temple and temple worship, the institution of the three major festivals and pilgrimages to the Jerusalem temple, laws of sacrifice, prohibition of blasphemy against other gods, the priestly reading of the law at the festival of Tabernacles every seven years, the learning of these laws by inscribing them on their "souls," and the teaching of these laws to their children. From here we arrive at our section on giving thanks, or 'gratitude,' to God twice daily. *Ant.* 4.212 is then followed by a summary of the laws of the mezuzah and phylacteries.

L. Hoffman; Two Liturgical Traditions 1; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 52–3.

[19] Translation by L. Feldman in *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, *Volume 3: Judean Antiquities 1–4* (ed. S. Mason; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 406.

One of the challenges of our interpretation of *Ant.* 4.212, however, is to determine if Josephus alludes to Deut 6:7 when he writes that, "Twice each day, both at its beginning and when the hour comes for turning to sleep, bear witness to God . . ." Whereas *Let. Aris.* actually quotes Deut 6:7 (κοιταζόμενος and διανιστάμενος), Josephus chooses more general terms to indicate that times of prayer are at the "beginning of the day" (ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης), and the "hour of turning to sleep" (ὕπνον ὥρα τρέπεσθαι).[20] Further, Josephus lists the times for prayer in the reverse order of Deut 6:7, describing morning prayer first (at the "beginning of the day").

In her recent book *Prayer in Josephus*, Tessel Jonquière has argued Josephus does not refer to Deut 6:7; he is simply reiterating the times of prayer already commonly known by his Greco-Roman audience.[21] This suggestion is not implausible. In his book on Greek prayer, Simon Pulleyn has noted that morning and evening were quite common for prayer in the Greek world, citing passages such as Hesiod, *Works and Days* 338–339, which states that one should propitiate the gods, "with libations and burnt-offerings, both when you go to bed and when the holy light comes back."[22] Regarding specific hours of prayer, Pulleyn concludes that "There was no liturgy of the hours. None the less, prayer at dawn and dusk seemed to occupy a special place in the Greek world."[23]

Yet, from his choice of language—inscribing the law on one's "soul," doorway, and displaying it on one's arms and head—it is clear that in this section (4.210–213) Josephus has in mind the contents of Deuteronomy 6 (or perhaps of Deuteronomy 11) and that his description of daily prayer is stylistically reminiscent of Deut 6:7.[24] The connection to Deuteronomy 6,

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[20] Josephus uses the phrase "turning to sleep" in a number of other places, but only here adds the noun "hour" to indicate a conventional time for sleep rather than when one actually "turns to sleep." Cf. *Ant.* 1.177; 2.124; 5.193, 208; 18.370.

[21] T. Jonquière, *Prayer in Josephus* (Ancient Judaism and Christianity 70; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 48. In addition to Plato, *Laws* 887e, Jonquière cites Xenophon, *Lac.* 13.3 as an example of prayer twice daily.

[22] Translation from Hesiod, *Works and Days* (trans. G. W. Most; LCL57; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 115.

[23] S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 157. Pulleyn also cites Plato, *Laws* 887e as an example of praying morning and evening.

[24] See, e.g., Feldman, *Flavius Josephus*, 406–7; Kimelman, "The Shema and its Rhetoric," 114; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 47; Verseput, "James 1:17," 183; S. Naeh and M. Shemesh, "The Manna Story and the Time of the Morning Prayer," *Tarbiz* 64 (1995): 333; R. Beckwith, *Daily and Weekly Worship*, 16; Holtzmann, "Die täglichen," 93–4.

therefore, is too compelling to dismiss his description of daily prayer as only a reference to the cultural milieu of the Greco-Roman world.

Further, I will demonstrate below that, in addition to interpreting Deut 6:7 as a prooftext for daily prayer, the language Josephus uses in *Ant*. 4.212 recalls his own retelling of the Exodus story in *Ant*. 3.13ff. and further highlights his account of the origins of the custom of daily prayer. That is, when his retelling of the Exodus is read together with *Ant*. 4.212, it becomes clear that Josephus is attempting to situate the origins of the custom of daily prayer in Israel's sacred history, portraying Moses as the exemplar and the originator of the tradition.

For Josephus, the purpose of daily prayer is to "bear witness to God of the gifts that He granted them when they were delivered from the land of the Egyptians," and to give thanks (εὐχαριστία) daily for the bestowal of these gifts. W. Horbury has suggested that God's gifts to which Josephus refers are the national privileges bestowed upon all Israel, such as the Exodus, the covenants, the patriarchs, and the promise of redemption.[25] Within the context of *Ant.* 4.212, I suggest, however, that Josephus is following a more specific tradition that developed in the Second Temple period in which God gave certain gifts during Israel's wandering in the desert, and that through God's wisdom these gifts served a didactic function significant for theological education and worship.[26] In the Wisdom of Solomon, for example, the connection between the gift of Manna and prayer is made explicit. Recalling Exod 16:21, Wis 16:27–28 states: "For what was not destroyed by fire was melted when simply warmed by a fleeting ray of sun, to make it known that one must rise before the sun to give you [i.e. God] thanks (εὐχαριστία),[27] and must pray to you at the dawning of light." The didactic lesson connecting the gift of manna to

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[25] W. Horbury, "Ezekiel Tragicus 106: *δωρήματα*," *VT* 36 (1986): 37–51. See *L.A.B.* 20:8, for example, where Pseudo-Philo states that along with Manna, the cloud of glory (Exod 16:10) and the water from the rock (Exodus 17) were gifts from God, given on account of the merits of Israel's leaders: "When Israel left Egypt we were appointed three good leaders, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. In their favor he gave them three gifts: a cloud, manna, and a well." The same tradition is preserved in *t. Sotah* 11.8: Rabbi Jose bar Yehudah says, "When the Israelites went forth from Egypt, three good providers were appointed for them. These are Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. On their account were three gifts given to them: the pillar of cloud, manna, and a well—the well through the merit of Miriam, the pillar of cloud through the merit of Aaron, and the manna through the merit of Moses."

[26] In their article "The Manna Story," Naeh and Shemesh highlight the development of a tradition in which the gifts given by God during the Exodus (cf. Exod 16:8) served the didactic purpose of teaching Israel to pray daily in the morning and evening. One could add the giving of Manna taught the Israelites to prepare for the Sabbath (cf. Exod 16:25).

[27] Εὐχαριστία is also used by Josephus to describe prayer at *Ant*. 4.212. For further discussion see below.

prayer highlights the necessity to thank God daily for his past and future provisions, and to teach the Israelites that "man does not live by bread alone."

When we take into account Josephus' retelling of the giving of Manna (*Ant.* 3.13ff) and his account of daily prayer in *Ant.* 4.212 the same connection we see in Wis 16:27–28 comes into focus. In Josephus' retelling of the events of Exod 16, Moses, in a prelude to the Manna story (3.15), not only implores his audience to recall God's gifts, a certain foreshadowing of the gifts to come, but he also alludes to the didactic function of their present difficulties: the gifts given were to alleviate these trials and to 'train' them. The connection between God's gifts, prayer, and the timing of daily prayer occurs when the quail comes in the evening and when the manna falls in the morning; Josephus adds to his account, without biblical warrant, that when these miracles occurred Moses prayed thanks to God (*Ant.* 3.25: "…Moyses turned to prayers [of thanks] to God for producing assistance that was swift and in accordance with His promise.").[28] Thus for Josephus this was the episode that inspired and set the precedence for the practice of daily prayer that he describes later in *Ant.* 4.212,[29] and the timing of daily prayer was set according to the time of day the gifts of manna and quail were given. (Further in *Ant.* 3.38 Moses prays to God and receives another gift: water from the rock.)

A question remains about the content of the thanksgiving in *Ant.* 4.212, and if somehow this pattern of daily prayer relates to the Shema as some scholars suggest (cf. note 3). Naeh and Shemesh are right to point out that there are thematic links between the reference to the Exodus in *Ant.* 4.212 and the Shema, yet this connection is quite general. The specific "gifts" of the Exodus special to Israel do not appear in the Shema liturgy (except the crossing of the Sea of Reeds), nor does the reference to monotheism, the

[28] Translation from Feldman, *Flavius Josephus*, 237–8.

[29] The connection between prayer and the giving of manna is further preserved in post-biblical texts. Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, tractate *Vayassa'*, states: "Rabbi Eleazar of Modi'im says: 'And when the layer of dew was gone' means that when the prayer of our fathers who lay in the earth went up." In this case dew, טל, is interpreted to refer to prayer (a metaphor linking 'dew' to 'words' is based on Deut 32:2 "my speech condenses like the dew"). Translation from J. Lauterbach, *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (2d ed.; Philadelphia: JPS, 2004), 1:240. See also *Sifre Numbers* 89: "Then the people would recite the Shema and say the Prayer (Amidah), then someone would go to the door of his house and collect his food and the food of his household." In this passage the giving of manna in the morning is connected to the Shema and Amidah.

theological focus of the Shema, appear in *Ant*. 4.212.[30] The Exodus story constitutes Israel's coming into being as a nation; it is old and provided a rich foundation for theological reflection and interpretation throughout Israel's scriptures and its reference here is too general to link this passage to the Shema liturgy. As Peter Craigie points out, the origins and development of Israel's worship practices were inspired by the Exodus:

> The origins of Israel as a nation are to be found in the Exodus from Egypt. It is that same event which marks the origin of Israel's psalmody. The Exodus was celebrated in a great hymn of praise, the Song of the Sea; that ancient hymn not only stands at the head of all Israel's hymns of praise, but it profoundly influenced many subsequent hymns and continues to be used in the synagogue to this day.[31]

This quote is not given to imply that Josephus had the Song of the Sea in mind when he speaks of "thanksgiving" in *Ant.* 4.212 (although this link is tantalizing as Josephus describes the Song as "εὐχαριστία:" "Moses composed a song to God in hexameter rhythm containing praise and also gratitude for His favor," *Ant*. 2.346). Instead, it is only to point out that, given the importance of the Exodus narrative and its wide spread usage already in other liturgical pieces from the biblical period, Josephus' reference to the Exodus in *Ant.* 4.212 cannot be taken easily as evidence for the Shema.

A more fruitful avenue might be to investigate Josephus' use of the word εὐχαριστία (thanksgiving), since this is the genre of prayer that he calls for in giving witness to God's gifts and his goodness. If one could prove that "giving thanks" (εὐχαριστία) recalls the blessings associated with the Shema, the argument that this passage refers to the Shema would be strengthened. As noted above, the themes of *Ant*. 4.212 reflect some of the content of the Shema liturgy, particularly the reference to the Exodus found at the end of Num 15:37–41, which is the third biblical portion included in the liturgy's conventional form.[32] Naeh and Shemesh add that the reference to Exodus in *Ant*. 4.212 recalls the third blessing of the morning Shema liturgy, "True and Certain," in which redemption from Egypt

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[30] One could argue that Josephus does not mention monotheism in 4.212 to align his narrative with the interests of his polytheistic readers, but it is clear from Josephus' willingness to discuss the oneness of God in other stories in his *Antiquities* that this is not the case (cf., e.g., *Ant*. 1.154–156; 2.91; 4.139, 201).

[31] P. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 25.

[32] See Feldman, *Flavius Josephus*, 406–7; Naeh and Shemesh, "The Manna Story," 335. Contra Fleischer, "Obligatory Jewish Prayer," 417–8; Jonquière, *Prayer in Josephus*, 45–7. Both Fleischer and Jonquière see this passage as referring to prayer, but not the Shema.

is a central theme.[33] Other scholars have argued that Josephus' reference to thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) refers to the blessings that accompanied the reading of the Shema passages from Deuteronomy.[34]

Despite these arguments, the connection of *Ant.* 4.212 to the Shema via the reference to Egypt and the use of εὐχαριστία is doubtful. Josephus always uses either εὐλογέω or ευλογία to indicate blessing—including the blessing of God (e.g., *Ant.* 1.181; 4.241, 302, 307, 320; 7.380, 381; 8.53, 110, 111, 119; 9.15; 11.80)—and εὐχαριστέω / εὐχαριστία to indicate thanksgiving more generally (e.g., *Ant.* 1.156; 2.346; 3.65; 4.203, 212, 242; 9.2; 11.294; 17.194). Moreover, except in the instance of the tithing of the first-fruits (cf. *Ant.* 2.241–242), the blessing of God in Josephus always occurs as a response to specific events, not a fixed liturgical practice. The regulations spelled out in *Ant.* 2.241–242 concerning the offering of first fruits provide a good example of the different uses of both terms in one context. This passage specifies that one must first bless God (εὐλογήσαντες) for giving the land on which to grow produce, then "complete the sacrifice that the law bids them," and then give the first-fruits to the priests. Just before leaving the temple precincts, Josephus adds that one must give thanks to God (εὐχαριστησάτω) "because He has removed them from the insolence of the Egyptians and given a good and large land to them to enjoy the fruits thereof." This passage, along with *Ant.* 2.346, not only affirms the connection between thanksgiving and the Exodus, but it might even provide some indication of the content Josephus had in mind for daily prayer at *Ant.* 4.212.

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[33] Naeh and Shemesh, "The Manna Story," 336. They point out that the blessing "True and Certain" in the Shema liturgy was old. As proof they cite *m. Tamid* 5.1, but as I have argued in section 4.1. in Chapter One, the historicity of this passage is doubtful. Also see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 114, who writes: "Josephus refers to this daily prayer as acknowledging 'before God the bounties which he has bestowed on them through their deliverance from the land of Egypt,' which is the theme of the benediction immediately following the *Shema* in the rabbinic liturgy, and it is this same benediction which *m. Tamid* 5.1 states the priests in the temple recited with the *Shema*." See also Hammer, "What did they Bless?," 305–23; R. Kimelman, "The Šĕma' and its Blessings: The Realization of God's Kingship," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. Levine; Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987), 73–86; Horbury, "Ezekiel Tragicus 106," 37–51, esp. 41 suggests that the phrase "they are acknowledging to God the gifts bestowed upon them" is an early form of the *Ge'ullah* eulogy in the "True and Certain" blessing.

[34] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 114; R. Beckwith, *Daily and Weekly Worship—From Jewish to Christian* (Bramcote: Alcuin/Grove Books, 1987), 16, argues that Josephus regards the entire Shema as thanksgiving: "The most ancient characterization of it [i.e. the Shema], is that Josephus interprets it, in accordance with its third and culminating benediction, as an act of thanksgiving for redemption."

We can further appreciate Josephus' reason for daily prayer—to give thanks for past and future provisions—when we take into account his understanding of the nature and purpose of prayer more generally. As Jonquière notes, Josephus' statement regarding the necessity of thanksgiving in *Ant*. 4.212 is remarkably similar to his discussion of prayer in *Ag. Ap.* 2.195–197, where Josephus states "that people should ask God for good things for the reasons that he has already given these things of his own accord."[35] Whether it is in the context of sacrifice (*Ag. Apion* 2.197), or in our case, personal daily devotion, Josephus stays consistent in his discussion of prayer, which he believes is to give thanks for God's provisions.

In summary, unlike *Let. Aris.'* author, Josephus is not content only to quote Deut 6:7 when describing daily prayer. Instead, when *Ant*. 4.212 is read together with Josephus' retelling of the Exodus, it is clear that he sees the actions of Moses—giving thanks to God in the morning and evening in response to God's divine favor—as an additional prooftext for the importance of daily prayer and the times when it ought to be said. For Josephus the origins of daily prayer reach far back to a time, to the Exodus, when Israel's national and religious institutions were being formed through divine guidance (cf. also Wis 16:27–28). Moreover, surely it is significant that in *Ant*. 4.212 Josephus does not refer to blessings, and that he makes no mention of declaring God's oneness (cf. note 30), love of God, or taking on the yoke of the covenant, all central themes of the Shema. While Josephus is clearly working with some of the themes in Deuteronomy 6, I hesitate to see this passage as evidence of a Shema liturgy.[36] Rather, the content of daily prayer to which Josephus refers seems to be of a more general nature: give thanks to God for past and future provisions.

4. 1QS X 10, 13–14

There is one section (1QS X 8b–15a) found within the hymn at the end of the *Community Rule* (1QS X 8b–XI 15a), in particular lines 10, 13–14, that includes a reference to Deut 6:7 and has often been interpreted as a series

[35] Jonquière, *Prayer in Josephus*, 48.

[36] Kimelman reaches a similar conclusion, arguing that Josephus likely had in mind a prayer that resembles something like what is found in *y. Ber.* 1.5 [3d]: "We are grateful to you for having taken us out of Egypt and having redeemed us from the house of bondage in order to praise your name." See R. Kimelman, "The Shema' Liturgy," 11. See also E. Eshel, H. Eshel, and A. Lange, " 'Hear, O Israel' in Gold," 52–4.

of poetic allusions to the daily liturgical complex of prayers and blessings recited by the Qumran community. Scholars have also argued that the language used indicates that the Shema liturgy was included in their daily prayers.[37] I will quote the text and its surrounding context:

8 ובכול היותי חוק חרות בלשוני לפרי תהלה ומנת שפתי
9 אזמרה בדעת וכול נגינתי לכבוד אל וכנור נבלי לתכון קודשו וחליל שפתי אשא בקו משפטו
10 עם מבוא יום ולילה אבואה בברית אל ועם מוצא ערב ובוקר אמר חוקיו ובהיותם אשים
11 גבולי לבלתי שוב ומשפטו אוכיח כנעויתי ופשעי לנגד עיני כחוק חרות ולאל אומר צדקי
12 ולעליון מכין טובי מקור דעת ומעון קודש רום כבור וגבורת כול לתפארת עולם הבחרה באשר
13 יורני וארצה כאשר ישופטני ברשית משלח ידי ורגלי אברך שמו בראשית צאת ובוא
14 לשבת וקום ועם משכב יצועי ארננה לו ואברכנו תרומת מוצא שפתי במע־רכת אנשים
15 ובטרם ארים ידי להדשן בעדני תנובת תבל ברשית פחד ואימה ובמכון צרה עם בוקה
16 אברכנו בהפלא מודה...

Translation:

8 And in all my existence the precept will be engraved on my tongue to be a fruit of eulogy, and a portion (of offering) of my lips. {I shall tune}
9 I will sing with knowledge and for the glory of God shall all my music be, the playing of my harp according to his holy order, and the whistle of my lips I shall tune to its correct measure.
10 With the coming of day and night I shall enter the covenant of God, and with the departing of evening and morning I will say his statutes. I will place in them my
11 boundary without return. His judgment I will declare concerning my sins,[38] and my transgression shall be before my eyes as an engraved precept. I will say to God, 'My Righteousness,'

[37] See note 1.

[38] There has been much discussion of how to interpret the verb יכח. Following 2 Sam 7:14, Wernberg-Møller reads this form as a niphal and emended משפט to במשפט: "By his justice I am chastened according to my perverseness." P. Wernberg-Møller writes, "For the emendation proposed, cf. 2 Sam 7:14 (והכחתיו בשבט) where בשבט is read as במשפט which, because of the fricative pronunciation of Bet, was copied erroneously" (in, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* [STDJ 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957], 145). A passive translation is also found in J. Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation. Volume 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 45. Others have kept the active voice. See G. Vermes, *The*

12 to the Most High, 'Author of my Goodness,' 'Fountain of Knowledge' and 'Source of Holiness,' 'Summit of Glory' and 'Almighty Eternal Majesty.' I will choose that which
13 he teaches me and will delight in His judgment of me. When I stretch out hand and foot I will bless his name. When I go out and come back,
14 sit and rise, and when lying on my couch I will exult him. I will bless him with the offering of the utterance of my lips in row of men
15 and before I lift my hands to enjoy the delights of the earth's produce. When fear and dread (take hold), and in the abode of affliction and distress,
16 I will bless him for his wondrous activity. (trans. DSSSE)

Shermaryahu Talmon was the first to argue that this passage alludes to fixed daily prayers, and that, despite the sectarian nature of 1QS, the passage includes parallels to many of the prayers that we find in rabbinic Judaism. He argues, for example, that the phrase "When I stretch out hand and foot I will bless his name" (ברשית משלח ידי ורגלי אברך שמו; 1QS X 13b) alludes to a blessing to the Creator in the morning, like the *Yotzer 'Or*, and that lines 13b–14a, "When I go out and come back, sit and rise" (בראֿשית צאת ובוא לשבת וקום) refer to Deut 6:7 and the Shema liturgy morning and evening. He further argued that the phrase "and when lying on my couch I will exult him" (ועם משכב יצועי ארננה לו) in line 14a invokes an association with the phrase "when you lie down" (ובשכבך), from Deut 6:7, and refers to "prayer at night," which he argued, "was introduced during the Second Temple period."[39]

Manfred Weise made many of these same claims soon after Talmon's initial article,[40] and further proposed that the language in 1QS X 10,

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Complete Dead Sea Scrolls Reader (rev. ed.; London: Penguin, 2004), 113; F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume One 1Q1–4Q273* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 95; Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 234; J. Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân: Son Évolution Littéraire* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976), 131; J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea. Text, Introduction, and Commentary* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1965), 215. In light of the many instances where this verb is in the active voice I also interpret this verb as a hiphil. Thus the hymnist's fellow community members act as agents of God's justice.

[39] Talmon, "Emergence," 224; Talmon ("Emergence," 229) added that the hymnist alluded to blessings of the Amidah in 1QS X 16–19, 23, XI 7–8, 15, although most (all?) scholars do not see any link between these passages in 1QS and the Amidah.

[40] Weise, *Kultzeiten*, 28–32. He supposed that the traditions of the Shema liturgy found in *m. Berakhot* attest to a "pharisaic-rabbinic" custom that was already operative in the Second Temple period, and that 1QS X 13a–14b evinced this custom (that is, the Shema liturgy and its composite parts: Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num. 15:37–41; and blessings). Weise also argued that חוקיו in line 10 referred to obligatory prayer, rather than statutes such as those in the Decalogue. Weise, *Kultzeiten*, 29 states, "Weiterhin lässt die Bezeichnung des

"entering the covenant of God" (אבואה בברית אל) with the "coming of day and night," and "saying" God's statutes (אמר חוקיו) with the "departing of evening and morning," also referred to the daily recital of the Shema liturgy in the morning and evening.[41]

Despite the fact that 1QS X 10 and the surrounding context (1QS X 8b–15) lack any allusion to Deut 6:4–5 ("Hear O Israel . . ."), Talmon's and Weise's arguments today are often reiterated and adapted. Falk has developed this approach most fully, arguing that 1QS X 10 is illustrative of a non-exclusive—that is, non-sectarian—Second Temple period Shema liturgy.[42] Falk suggests that "entering the covenant of God" and "saying his statutes" may indirectly refer to two separate components of the daily liturgy, with "entering the covenant" alluding to Deut 6:4–9, and "saying his statutes" alluding to reciting the Decalogue.[43] Within Qumran texts, he points to the phylacteries and 4QDeut[j] as corroborative evidence, even though only 4QPhyl B and 8Q3 include the Decalogue with Deut 6:4–5; for evidence of this practice within mainstream Judaism of the Second Temple period, he points to *m. Tamid* 5.1, the Nash Papyrus, LXX Deut 6:4, and Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212.[44]

There is, however, another way to read this passage. In what follows, I will demonstrate that these lines do not refer to set times of daily prayer

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Gebets als חוקים an festformulierte Gebetsstücke denken, wie sie ohnehin für das Gebet einer Gemeinschaft erforderlich sind."

[41] Talmon interpreted 1QS X 10 simply as a summary of the previous "Hymn of Appointed Times," a summary of the daily times for prayer listed in the previous section without allusions to content.

[42] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 113.

[43] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 113–4.

[44] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 113. Falk adds that 1QS X 9 "implies songs about God's holiness and justice" were sung on a daily basis, perhaps somewhat analogous to *pesukei de zimra* of the later synagogue. He further puts forward the suggestion that, because of the inclusion of language pertaining to judgment and confession in 1QS X 11–13, the sectarian's daily liturgy incorporated a confessional component, which constituted a "distinct modification" of the already established custom of daily prayer within mainstream Second Temple Judaism. Falk further argues that the daily confession of sin mentioned in 1QS X 11–13 was influenced by confession in the annual covenant ceremony and that such documents as 4Q393 *Communal Confessions* and *Words of the Luminaries* may have been used for daily confession. Thus, these lines (1QS X 9–14), according to Falk, evince the daily liturgy of the Qumran community that consisted of the Shema (including blessings), the Decalogue, confessions, and psalms of praise. Cf. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 111, where he charts the similarities of the hymn in 1QS X–XI with the covenant ceremony described in 1QS I–II. Regarding the possible daily setting of 4Q393 *Communal Confessions* and *Words of the Luminaries* see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 117; see also Arnold who follows closely the arguments of Falk (*The Social Role of Liturgy*, 118–9, 133).

that included the Shema liturgy.[45] The temporal language used in 1QS X 10, 13–14, including the allusion to Deut 6:7, should not be interpreted as definite points of time during the day, but instead as a merism reminding the hymnist that the requirements of the community are unceasing. Regarding other key terms interpreted as references to daily prayer, I will argue that these terms functioned only as rhetorical reminders of key theological ideas and institutions that reinforced the sectarian consciousness of the Qumran community, particularly the motif of covenant.[46] While covenant is of course important in a broader Jewish context, the sectarian community at Qumran, I would argue, is highly motivated to maintain a strong notion of covenant as this in turn maintains their community boundary, setting themselves apart from other Jews.[47]

a) *Deut 6:7*. Many scholars have argued that the line 13b–14a, "When I go out and come back, sit and rise, and when lying on my couch I will exult him" (ברשית צאת ובוא לשבת וקום ועם משכב יצועי ארננה...), echoes the language of Deut 6:7 (בשבתך בביתך ובלכתך בדרך ובשכבך ובקומך) and refers to daily prayer. As we have already seen, the phrase "when you lie down and rise up" (ובשכבך ובקומך) is found in *Let. Aris.* §160 and Josephus, *Ant*. 4.212, and was eventually interpreted as the daily times for praying the Shema liturgy in *m. Ber.* 2.1. Yet, while both Deut 6:7 and 1QS X 13b–14a contain similar verbs (קום, ישב, שכב), the phrase in 1QS X 13b–14a is actually composed of a pastiche of biblical idioms, not just Deut 6:7, to describe human activity. Line 14a, ועם משכב יצועי ארננה, for example, echoes the language of Ps 149:5, where the faithful "sing for joy on their couches" (ירננו על משכבותם). Even the closest parallel to

[45] For a similar opinion, see Sarason, "Communal Prayer at Qumran and Among the Rabbis," 158–9.

[46] Regarding the sectarian nature of this hymn (and other Qumranic documents), Newsom writes: "The character constructed for the Maskil in the instructions and hymn is one that embodies the values of the sect in a particularly pronounced fashion . . . Though one might find individual points of similarity, these various features come together to create a persona quite unlike one constructed by the figured worlds of 'common Judaism' " (Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 173–4).

[47] See E. Christiansen's book *The Covenant in Judaism and Paul: A Study of Ritual Boundaries as Identity Markers* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 145–85. In this chapter she demonstrates how covenant ritual, often used to distinguish ethnic groups, is incorporated by the Qumranites to signify a distinction between themselves, the true followers of Torah, and other Jews; See also F. García Martínez's discussion of distinguishing "us" and "them" in, "Invented Memory: The 'Other' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Qumranica Minora II: Thematic Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 64; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 187–218. For a broader discussion of these issues, see chapter four in Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 91–190.

Deut 6:7 in 1QS X 14a, the reference to "sitting and rising" (לשבת וקום) has parallels in Ps 127:2, 139:2, and Isa 37:28 (in this last reference בוא is added to the verb pair). In all of these cases the language is idiomatic and is used to indicate a merism of activity, not specific times of the day. With the blending of allusions to such an array of biblical texts, I suggest that the author is not thinking only of Deut 6:7 and he does not have specific daily times of the day in mind. Line 13b–14a should instead be interpreted as a merism, and understood as a reference to "all times."[48]

Talmon argued that the phrase in Line 13, "When I stretch out my hand and foot I will bless his name" (ברשית משלח ידי ורגלי אברכ שמו) alludes to morning blessings. In the Hebrew Bible, however, the phrase "stretch out hand" (משלח ידי) is used idiomatically to indicate many types of human activity.[49] The noun ברשית, moreover, while a temporal marker, does not indicate a set daily time in this instance. Rather, we should interpret the noun more generally and translate the phrase ברשית משלח ידי ורגלי אברך שמו as: "At the beginning of my activities I will bless his name." This again reaffirms the language of merism in this passage.

Moreover, the reference to blessing (ברך) in this text does not occur in reference to the activities of "going out and coming in, sitting down and rising, and laying on my couch" but only to "stretching out hand and foot" (ברשית משלח ידי ורגלי אברכ שמו) in the previous phrase. The choice of exultation (רנן) at the times of "going out and coming in, sitting down and rising, and laying on my couch," seems odd if the author was referring to the Shema liturgy in the sentence. This is especially true as the last part of the phrase, "on my couch *I will exult* him," does *not* allude to Deut 6:7 but instead to Ps 149:5, where the faithful "sing for joy on their couches" (ירננו על משכבותם).

b) *With the coming of day and night . . . with the departing of evening and morning.* Even if the language of sitting, rising, laying down, does not refer to set times or the content of daily prayer, others have argued that 1QS X 10 alludes to the recitation of the daily Shema liturgy in the morning and evening. Instead of a scriptural prooftext (i.e. Deut 6:7), however, the

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[48] The phrase "go out and come back" (ובוא צאת) is a common biblical idiom used throughout the Hebrew Bible to indicate the regular "comings and goings" within human activity, without specific references to set times during the day. See, for example, 2 Kgs 11:8; 2 Chr 22:7; Ezek 46:10; Isa 37:28 (LXX, Qumran manuscripts of this passage add קום); Ps 121:8; Jer 37:4; CD XI 11; XIII 4; XX 27–28; 1QS[a] I 17.

[49] The phrase משלח יד occurs frequently in Deuteronomy (12:7, 18; 15:10; 28:8, 20; 32:21) as an idiom to express "whatever one does."

times for daily prayer are recounted according to the daily cycle of the luminaries. 1QS X 10 states: "I will enter God's covenant" (אבואה בברית) / "I will say his statutes (אמר חוקיו)." As we noted above, despite the fact that 1QS X 10 makes no mention of prayer, or the themes of Deut 6:4, scholars still suggest that the language of "entering the covenant of God" and "saying his statutes" implies the Shema liturgy, perhaps in combination with the recitation of the Decalogue (i.e. "statutes").

Instead of alluding to the Shema liturgy, the expressions in line 10 of "entering God's covenant" and "saying his statutes" can be understood as terms that serve a key function within the 'sectarian consciousness' of the Qumran community. Again, while these terms are not exclusively sectarian, the scarcity of the expression "entering the covenant" in the Hebrew Bible[50] in contrast with the frequent occurrence of the phrase in Qumran sectarian documents (e.g. CD VI 19; IX 3) indicates that the term had a special meaning for the Qumran community that would not have been limited to a daily prayer setting. In 1QS and CD especially, this phrase continually denotes the membership of those in the Qumran community, both new initiates and also those who are regular members—i.e. those ascribing to the requirements of the community.[51] New initiates "enter" the covenant, and are also "received" (להבי) by the community as volunteers to do the statutes of God in the "covenant of mercy" (1QS I 7).[52] 1QS V 7–8, a key passage in the *Rule*, states:

> These are the regulations of their behaviors, according to all these statutes of God (החוקים האלה) when they are gathered to the community (ליחד).

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[50] Cf. Jer 34:10; Ezek 16:8; 20:37; 2 Chr 15:12.

[51] Regarding the term "entering the covenant," see L. Schiffman, "Halakhic Terminology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 24 (2009): 128. Schiffman argues that the term באי הברית denotes those who have full legal status within the sect's legal system. In contrast, Schiffman argues that the phrase אשר באו...בברית אברהם (CD XII 11) refers to "those who have entered the Jewish people" (p. 128). García Martínez reaches similar conclusions in his discussion of covenantal language in "Invented Memory," 187–218.

[52] 1QS I 11 states that the one entering the community will bring his knowledge, strength, and wealth (יביאו כול דעתם וכוחם והונם ביחד). S. Lieberman notes that the terms for admission of a candidate into the *Haburah* (Pharisaic societies), קבל "accept," קרב "to bring near," and in some cases בוא "to enter," is somewhat similar to the language in 1QS. See, S. Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *JBL* 71 (1952): 199–206; idem, *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II–IV Centuries C.E.* (New York: P. Feldheim, 1965), 80. See also the recent article by S. Fraade, "Qumran *Yaḥad* and Rabbinic *Ḥăbûrâ*: A Comparison Reconsidered," *DSD* 16 (2009): 433–53.

> Everyone who enters into the council of the community will enter into the Covenant of God in the sight of all those who freely volunteer.

Later in 1QS VI 14–15 we read that those who are "sufficient for discipline" are examined by an overseer, brought into the covenant (יביאהו), and then instructed in its requirements.[53] In the *Damascus Document* both new initiates and regular members are called "those entering the covenant" באי הברית.[54]

In the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa I 4–7), a setting is described where members come (בוא) and hear "all the statutes of the covenant;" when of age one may receive instruction from the 'book of Hagu' concerning the "statutes of the covenant" (חוקי הברית), which, in this context, must pertain to the laws governing community matters. In these same meetings (1QSa I 7–13) the youth of the Qumran community are to be instructed in the precepts of the covenant (בחוקי הברית); when they reach the age of 25 this period of instruction would be completed and the youth "shall enter (בוא) . . . the holy congregation."

In the *Hodayot* the hymnist frequently thanks God for bringing him into the community, which is often juxtaposed with covenant themes. 1QH[a] XIV 15–16 states: "for you have brought (הביאותה)[. . .] your secret counsel all the people of your council, and in a common lot with the angels of the presence, without an intermediary . . ." See also 1QH[a] XI 23 (לבוא ביחד עם עדת בני שמים), XIII 25 (לבאי בריתי), XXI 10 (]הביאותה בברית עמכה), 14 (להביא בברית עמכה),[55] and in 1QH[a] VII 30 the hymnist decries those outside the covenant as "rejecting Your covenant, and your statutes (חוקים) their soul loathes." The hymnist then goes on to describe those outside the covenant in terms antithetical to 1QS X 10–14. In 1QS the speaker accepts the covenant (בברית) and God's statutes (חוקיו), declares God to be good (טובי), chooses (הבחרה) that which God teaches, and delights (וארצה) in God's judgments, whereas in 1QH[a] VII 30ff., "The wicked . . . walk on paths that are not good (לא טוב), they reject your covenant (בבריתכה), your decrees (וחוקיך) their soul loathes, they take no pleasure (רצו) in what you command. Instead they choose (ויבחרו) what You hate . . ."

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[53] See also 1QS I 16; II 18, 25–26; V 2, 7–11, 20; VI 14–16.

[54] See CD II 2; III 10; VI 11, 19; VIII 1, 17–18, 21; IX 2–4; XII 6, 11; XIII 14; XV 5; XIX 14, 16, 33; XX 2 (לכל באי עדת אנשי תמים הקדש), 25.

[55] In 1QH[a] XI 4 and XII 6 illumination and covenant are juxtaposed suggesting that the reception of revelation depends upon entering the covenant.

The word √חקק both in its nominal ("statutes") and verbal ("inscribe") form consistently appears juxtaposed alongside themes of "covenant" in sectarian documents as part of the conditions and statutes of the covenant, i.e. the community regulations, that must be followed by members to enter to the community (hence the parallelism of ברית and חוק in 1QS X 10). This is already evident from 1QS X 10–11 where these statutes act as a "boundary" specific to the Qumran community to prevent backsliding, and we see this parallelism in other sectarian texts too.[56] In 1QS I 12 the knowledge brought by a member into the covenant will be strengthened by the truth of God's statutes (לברר דעתם באמת חוקי אל), and in 1QS V 20 we read that "someone enters the covenant to act in accordance with all these statutes (ככול החוקים האלה), and that these statutes must be zealously safeguarded by the Maskil (cf. 1QS IX 12, X 8b).[57]

The frequent appearance of the phrase "coming into the covenant" in Qumran sectarian documents suggests that the author of 1QS X 10 is not referring to a daily Shema liturgy in which the Decalogue is also recited (and therefore does not describe the general milieu of daily prayer in the Second Temple period). Instead the language of the passage was meant to bring to mind the continual necessity of following the requirements of the community. Perhaps this difference is further exemplified when we contrast "saying God's statutes" (אמר חוקיו) in 1QS X 10 with the language of the Shema liturgy in Deut 6:6–7, in which one must "repeat" (שנן) and "speak" (דבר) God's "words" (דברים).

Entering the Covenant, and Saying God's Statutes Twice Daily?

The question remains whether this text refers to set daily times, which could imply some kind of daily ritual of "entering God's covenant" and reciting (or saying: אמר) his "statutes." The language of coming (בוא) and departing (יצא) in 1QS X 10 recalls very clearly astronomical language used to describe the exchange of the luminaries at the beginning of the day and at its end (עם מבוא יום ולילה...ועם מוצא ערב ובוקר).[58]

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[56] See also CD XX 25 which warns against those who have broken through the boundary of the Torah (פרצו את גבול התורה).

[57] This theme of covenant and statutes also appears in 1QS I 7–8; V 7–8, 11; VIII 10; IX 12; 1QS^{b} III 24; V 23; 1QM X 10; 1QH^{a} VIII 33 (מחוקי ברית); CD XIX 13–14. See also 1QH^{a} VII 25 (חוקיך).

[58] Some partial parallels of this type of language are found in earlier biblical texts. For example, see Ps 19:7 (השמים מוצאו [השמש]); Ps 65:9 (מוצאי בקר וערב); Ps 104:19–23

It is important to note that this language parallels remarkably with other temporal descriptions in sectarian texts. The closest parallel is found in a hymn in the *War Scroll* (1QM XIV 13–14) in which we find the descriptions of morning and evening as transitional points of the day: עם מ[בו]א יומם ולילה ומוצאי ערב ובוקר.[59] The *Hodayot* (1QH^a XX 7–8, 10) also contains equivalent language in a hymn describing daily prayer: עם מבוא אור ... מוצא אור; line 10: אור למוצא לילה ומבוא.[60]

Despite these similarities, the question still remains if one should translate literally these phrases as referring to specific times of the day. The calendar in the previous section at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a (see also 1QH^a XX 7–10) recounts daily times of prayer in a manner more detailed than we see in 1QS X 10. As such, 1QS X 10 appears to be a type of summary of daily times already laid out in previous section; and, unless we want to retain a sense of redundancy, 1QS X 10 should not be interpreted as specific set calendarical times. This same type of summary occurs in 1QH^a XX 10b–11a (למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם תמיד בכול מולדי עת), where, after citing specific daily times of prayer in the previous lines (1QH^a XX 7b–10a), the passage summarizes in a general sense the duty to bless God "*continually* (תמיד) at all the appointed times" (1QH^a XX 10b–11a).

These examples demonstrate that in 1QS X 10, the temporal language can indicate the continual necessity of maintaining the covenant, that *day-by-day*, *continually* one must "enter the covenant" and recite God's statutes. These themes also are seen in CD XX 27–34: "But all those who remain steadfast in these regulations, coming and going (ל[צ]את ולבוא) according to the law, listen to the Teacher's voice, and confess before God ... these shall exult and rejoice and their heart will be strong."

Finally, while 1QS X 10 does not refer to specific daily set times like the calendar in the previous section (1QS IX 26–X 8a), the language employed in this line is designed to capture the rhythms of the human experience on a cosmic scale. The temporal language in 1QS X 10, described in astronomical terms ("with the coming of day and night ..."), is blended together with the more mundane realm of human activity in 1QS X

(שמש ידע מבואו ... יצא אדם ... עדי ערב); Exod 17:12 (השמש בא); Josh 8:29; 10:27 (בוא השמש); 2 Sam 3:35 (בוא השמש); 2 Chr 18:34 (בוא השמש); Hos 6:3 (כשחר נכון מוצאו); Neh 4:15 (מעלות השחר עד צאת הכוכבים); Ecc 1:5 (וזרח השמש ובא השמש).

[59] The hymn at 1QM XIV contains other vocabulary also found in 1QS X 10–14, such as ברית (line 10), כבוד (line 11), גבורה, [ארה]תפ, רום (line 13).

[60] See also 4Q299 5 3–4 (4QMyst^a; DJD XX):]ומוצא לילה מבוא יום.

13–14—"coming, going, sitting down, getting up"—to suggest subtly the mirroring of human activities on the cosmic scale; just as the movements of the luminaries have been predetermined, so too has God's design for humanity. The purpose of this is no doubt to reinforce a sense of divine determinism, displayed publically in the heavens, in which one's duties are understood to be divinely preordained like the movements of the cosmos, and must be adhered to with strictness (cf. 1QS I 13–15, IX 14 [חוק העת]).[61]

To conclude, I prefer to interpret 1QS X 10, 13–14 as a text that describes particular theological ideas and institutional practices that are foundational for the existence and experience of the Qumran community. The style of language chosen, the vocabulary, and rhetorical thrust indicate that the purpose of this section of the hymn is to remind the hymnist that he is allowed to participate in the community because of a covenant, and that following the statutes (חוקים) allows the community members to remain in the covenant. Despite the allusions in this text to Deut 6:7, we should be wary of claiming 1QS X 10, 13–14 as evidence that the community recited the Shema daily.

5. Conclusions

In the *Letter of Aristeas* we see for the first time an attempt to interpret literally the injunction at Deut 6:7 and apply it to actual practice, connecting times of meditation directly to one's personal habits of waking and sleeping. There is no indication that the subject on which one is to meditate is fixed, nor that Deut 6:4 must be included. Rather, as the phylacteries and excerpted texts from Qumran exemplify, a variety of passages from Deuteronomy were considered important for study and meditation. That prayer was included in this context seems likely.

For *Ant.* 4.212, we noted that Josephus summarizes Moses' address to the Israelites, and in this speech we find a prescription for giving thanks morning and evening in response to the gifts that God has given Israel

[61] For an example of the idea that the heavens operate according to divine statute, see Jer 31:35–36: "Thus says the Lord, who gives the sun for light by day and the fixed order of the moon and the stars for light by night, who stirs up the sea so that its waves roar—the Lord of hosts is his name: If this fixed order (החקים האלה) were ever to cease from my presence, says the Lord, then also the offspring of Israel would cease to be a nation before me forever."

during the Exodus. As in *Aristeas*, Josephus alludes to Deut 6:7 when describing the appropriate times for prayer. Josephus also situates this custom within the routine of one's personal life in the home, to times related to going to bed and waking up.

Further, the internal literary connection between *Ant*. 4.212 and Josephus' recounting of the Exodus story (*Ant*. 3.13ff) is too compelling and too intentional to credit his description of daily prayer solely to Deut 6:7. I suggest that Josephus' account of daily prayer in *Ant.* 4.212 is his own attempt to establish a connection between Moses' prayers of thanks for the divine gifts given (manna and quail) during the Exodus and the custom of daily prayer. These gifts were given morning and evening, which suggests not only that Moses was the exemplar of giving thanks, but also that he set the precedent for daily times of prayer. From Josephus' description of the prayers and his reasons for giving thanks, I have cautiously concluded that he is not referring to the Shema liturgy—certainly not one in which monotheism is a central concern.

Regarding 1QS X 10, 13–14, I have argued that this passage does not refer to specific prayers and their times of recitation. The allusions to scripture in this passage are too general to indicate a set pattern of time. Instead, the terms and motifs used in 1QS X 10–14 recall theological ideas and institutional practices that form the 'sectarian consciousness' of the Qumran community; they do not, however, connote substantively any association with a daily Shema liturgy. In light of the next chapter, my conclusions here are not surprising. In Chapter Three I will describe another pattern of daily prayer modeled upon the cycle of the heavenly luminaries and coordinated with angelic worship, which provided the template for the Qumran community's calendar and religious practices.

With respect to the question of whether a daily Shema liturgy existed in the Second Temple period, I posit the following: the Deuteronomic injunction to recite "words" "when you lie down and when you rise," was understood originally (in conjunction with the previous phrase "when you stay at home and when you are away") as a merism prescribing one to reflect on and recite God's words at all times (cf. Deut 6:7, 11:13). In the Second Temple period, however, we begin to see an exegetical strategy employed in which Deut 6:7 is read literally as a prescription for daily meditation and prayer. In my view, we cannot say that *Let. Aris.* and Josephus evince clear evidence of the daily recitation of the Shema liturgy, although there is something clearly "in the air" at this time that provides a foundation for such a practice. I am suggesting that, while daily practices

of meditation and prayer in connection to Deuteronomy were gaining momentum in the Second Temple period, and that scripture, particularly Deut 6:7, was used to develop a biblical warrant for fixed prayer, there is little indication that Deut 6:4—the declaration of monotheism—was a central component within the early stages of this development.

CHAPTER THREE

LUMINARY CYCLES AND DAILY PRAYER

1. Introduction

In this chapter I will examine a pattern of daily prayer based on the luminary cycles of the heavens. This pattern is neither modeled on sacrificial times as we saw in Chapter One, nor is it grounded in sacred scripture as in Chapter Two. A relationship between the cycles of the heavenly luminaries and religious worship is ubiquitous in the ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern world, and in many different religions and cultures we can find examples of prayer at sunrise or at other times of the week, month, or year that are marked by astronomical phenomena.[1] In ancient Judaism there are also a number of examples that demonstrate an affiliation between worship and heavenly luminaries, particularly prayer at sunrise, and many scholars consider prayer at the exchange of the luminaries to be a popular practice in the Second Temple period.[2] There are, however, only a limited number of texts that exhibit clearly a coordination of prayer with the transitional phases of the luminaries on a fixed *daily* basis.

In the present chapter I will examine two texts, 4Q503 *Daily Prayers* and 4Q408 *Apocryphon of Moses*^{c}*?*.[3] The first is prescriptive, the second descriptive, but they both exemplify the practice of praying in coordination with luminary cycles. This was for two reasons: First is the claim,

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[1] For a variety of examples, see S. Noegel, J. Walker, B. Wheeler, eds., *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (University Park, PN: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); S. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[2] See, e.g., D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 47–9; E. Chazon, " 'When Did They Pray?' Times for Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (ed. R. Argal, B. Bow, and R. Werline; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 50; G. Rizzi, "Hermeneutic Phenomena in the Translation of the Peshitta Wisdom," in *The Book of* Wisdom *in Modern Research: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology* (ed. A. Passaro and G. Bellia; Deuterocanoncial and Cognate Literature; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 247–9.

[3] The prayer calendar at 1QH^{a} XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X8a provides another example of daily prayer coordinated with the cycle of the luminaries. Due to the literary complexities of this calendar, I have left these two texts to Chapter Four for a full and detailed investigation.

rooted in Genesis 1, that the heavenly luminaries created by God on the fourth day of creation provided the correct schedule for daily prayer for the two domains of day and night; that is, the greater light, the sun, 'rules' the day and the lesser light, the moon (and stars), 'rules' the night.[4] The fact that the luminaries moved with such regularity and that these movements were set according to divine law made the celestial lights ideal markers for those looking to establish a scheduled pattern of daily prayer. Second is the notion that the heavenly angels sing praises to God at certain times of the day such that those on earth should coordinate and time their worship with the celestial praises above. In the Second Temple period, some Jews, particularly those of an apocalyptic mindset (cf. *1 En*. 18:15; 21:6; 82:9–20; 86:1–4; 90:24), believed that stars and angels coalesced,[5] and that set times of angelic praise were marked by certain celestial movements of the day and night. For those on earth who wished to coordinate their worship with the celestial praises above, the movements of the stars provided the correct timing to do so. Further, while these angels indeed took their place within the heavenly temple to worship God, this sanctuary was conceived as a place of worship without the blood of sacrifices, in which the praises of the angels were the primary focus.[6] This difference in cultic focus between the earthly and heavenly temples strengthened the disassociation of a cosmologically based pattern of daily prayer from a pattern based on daily sacrifice in the Jerusalem temple described in Chapter One. Finally, because these two texts, 4Q503 and 4Q408, are part of the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus, the question arises as to whether praying

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[4] Cf. Gen 1:14–18, esp. v. 16: "God made the two great lights—the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night—and the stars." See also Ps 136:8–9: "The sun to rule over the day (את השמש לממשלת ביום)… the moon and stars to rule over the night" (את הירח וכוכבים לממשלות בלילה); Jer 31:35–36 (החוקים האלה); Job 38:33 (חקות שמים). In the ancient world, the regularity of the heavenly cycles was the surest proof that divine beings existed. See, for example, Aristotle, *Metaph*.; Seneca, *Helv.* 8.5; *Marc.* 18.5; Cicero, *Nat. d.* II, 49–56; *Tusc*. I, 19.44; Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 338–339; Ptolemy, *Algmagest* 1.1.

[5] For further discussion, see Chapter Five.

[6] P. Alexander offers a similar explanation for the emphasis of human-angelic praise and the lack of sacrifice at Qumran (in, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* [London: T & T Clark International, 2006], 100). Regarding the bloodless sacrifices offered by angels, see also D. Dimant, "Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. A. Berlin; Baltimore: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 100–1; M. Himmelfarb, "Earthly Sacrifice and Heavenly Incense: The Law of the Priesthood in *Aramaic Levi* and *Jubilees*," in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* (ed. R. Boustan and A. Reed; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 121. Himmelfarb writes: "Although a few texts refer explicitly to sacrifice in heaven, I do not know of any that mentions animals, blood, or fat" (p. 121).

daily according to the cycle of the luminaries is a Qumran sectarian phenomenon. A discussion of the provenance of these two texts, therefore, is warranted (see sections 3.6. and 4.3.).

2. 4Q504, 4Q506

Before continuing, a brief discussion of *The Words of the Luminaries* is necessary. At the outset, I suggest that this liturgy, a set of penitential prayers to be recited liturgically for one weekly cycle, was not composed for daily recitation throughout the year, but was instead used as a collection of prayers for special circumstances, such as a fast or festival.[7] I have included a discussion of this composition in this chapter since this view is not commonly held.[8] The liturgy is found in two manuscripts, 4Q504 and 4Q506, and possibly a third, 4Q505. 4Q506 was written on the verso of a papyrus opisthograph together with a copy of the *War Scroll* (4Q496). 4Q505 and 4Q509, a copy of *Festival Prayers*, were copied on the recto side of the scroll.[9] Baillet found numerous overlaps with 4Q505 and 4Q506 and thus identified these two documents as the same.[10] In his review of DJD 7 García Martínez argued that 4Q505 is not a copy of *Words of the Luminaries* but should be read together with 4Q509 as a single copy of *Festival Prayers*, as it seems unlikely that a scribe would copy the same text (4Q505) on the recto side of the scroll when another copy (4Q506), already written a century earlier, is found in the verso. He further noted that the alleged overlaps are not very close.[11] Falk agrees and adds to these arguments that for Baillet's original reconstruction of

[7] Cf. J. Maier, "Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 579.

[8] For the suggestion that *Words of the Luminaries* was for daily use, see, e.g., E. Chazon, "Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in vol. 1 of *The Dead Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 259; eadem, "When Did They Pray?," 47; eadem, "The *Words of the Luminaries* and Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Times," in vol. 2 of *Seeking the Favor of God: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. Boda, D. Falk, and R. Werline; Early Judaism and Its Literature 22; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2007), 178; D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 88; J. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 242.

[9] There are numerous similarities between *Festival Prayers* (1Q34 + 1Q34^{bis}, 4Q507, 4Q508, 5Q509 + 4Q505?) and *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504–506): e.g. the incipit, "A Prayer for *X*;" each prayer opens with the supplication "Remember Lord" (זכור אדוני) and closes with the blessing, "Blessed be the Lord" that is followed by a double Amen.

[10] M. Baillet, Qumrân *Grotte 4.III* (*4Q482–4Q520*) (DJD VII; Oxford: Claredon, 1982), 168–75.

[11] Cf. F. García Martínez, review of M. Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4, III* (*4Q482–4Q520*) in *JSJ* 15 (1984): 157–64, esp. 161–2.

the scroll to work, the prayers in 4Q505 would have been arranged differently than found in 4Q504 and 4Q506.[12] This seems unlikely, given that are organized chronologically according to the unfolding of Israelite history.

The liturgy is likely non-sectarian.[13] 4Q504, the oldest copy, was written in Hasmonean script and dates to the middle of the second century BCE. The latest document to be copied, 4Q506, dates to the Herodian period, sometime in the early to middle part of the first century CE.[14]

2.1. *Liturgical Features*

There are a number of characteristics that attest to this document's liturgical usage: 1) The superscription "prayer for the *X* day" is preserved only in two places—the fourth (4Q504 3 ii) and seventh day (1–2 vii 4)—but it is likely that each prayer included such a superscription correlating to a specific day of the week (4Q504 3ii + 4Q506 125 + 127, 4Q504 1–2 vii 4). 2) The frequent use of the third person plural as well as the address to God in the second person suggests a communal recitation. 3) Each prayer petitions God to remember his mercies toward Israel (זכור אדוני), and ends with a blessing formula (ברוך אדוני), which is followed by a double Amen.[15]

The content of each of the weekday petitions is thematically connected so that each prayer is integral to the whole of the liturgy, which in total becomes a sweeping account of God's historical dealings with Israel. Each weekday prayer petitions God through recounting a portion of biblical history; the prayer for Sunday begins with Adam and each subsequent prayer that follows recounts a portion of Israelite history until the sixth day, Friday, which recounts the Israel's exile and restoration. For the Sabbath, instead of petition we find hymns of praise which include allusions to joint worship with angels.[16]

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[12] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 60–1

[13] The provenance of this liturgy is likely non-sectarian because of the early dating of copy 4Q504 and its lack of sectarian peculiarities. Cf. E. Chazon, "Is *Divrei ha-me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3–17. Baillet suggested that the composition is pre-Essene (DJD VII, 137).

[14] DJD VII, 169.

[15] For further discussion, see, Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 68–94; E. Chazon, "4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature?" *RevQ* 15 (1992): 447–55.

[16] Cf. 4Q504 1–2 recto which mentions, "all the angels of the holy firmament." Also cf. E. Chazon, "On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer," *Journal of Jewish Music and*

2.2. *A Daily Liturgy?*

Unlike 4Q503, (see below) this liturgy lacks any directives for a specific time of the day for its recitation. We only know which day of the week each prayer was to be recited. Esther Chazon has argued that the title *Words of the Luminaries* (דברי המאורות) written on the verso of 4Q504 designates the unit of time for when these prayers ought to be recited, i.e. at the exchange of the luminaries at sunrise and possibly sunset; also times notable for angelic praise.[17] There are some examples, such as in 1QM X 11, 1QH^a IX 13, and 4Q511 2 i 8 where the word מאור/ות refers to angels, but in *Words of the Luminaries* there is no mention of celestial bodies and their praise of God except on the Sabbath, which makes this interpretation of the title uncertain. It is conceivable, however, that despite the text's lack of cosmological references, the world-view of the Qumran community, often characterized by heightened angelology and cosmological concerns, still enabled them to see these prayers as related to the cosmological bodies. Baillet posited that the title could refer to a "priestly office" in which the priest represents God's glory;[18] Fletcher-Louis has made a similar claim, arguing that in these prayers Israel bears God's glory and that it is reflected to the rest of the world.[19] This suggestion is particularly striking in view of the opening lines of the first prayer, in which Adam (4Q504 *recto* 8 3–4) is fashioned according to God's glory (cf. also 1–2 4).

Despite the possible connection to celestial bodies, a number of features in the *Words of the Luminaries* give the impressive that this liturgy would not have been used for daily prayer. The most glaring feature is that the penitential genre of *Words of the Luminaries* is ill-suited for a daily liturgy, at least over an extended period of time. A comparative analysis with other daily prayers, both in the Second Temple period (i.e. 4Q503) and later (i.e. the Shema and its blessings, *Amidah*), demonstrates that the primary focus of daily worship is blessings and thanksgiving. It is true that petitionary clauses are found in daily prayers comprised of mixed genres

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Liturgy 15 (1992–3): 1–21, esp. 5–6. She notes that this change from petition to praise parallels the nature of Sabbath prayers in rabbinic literature.

[17] E. Chazon, "*Dibre Hamme'orot*: Prayer for the Sixth Day (4Q504 1–2v–vi)," in *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine: A Critical Anthology* (ed. M. Kiley et al.; London: Routledge, 1997), 24; idem, "On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer," 13–14; eadem, "Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 255–6. The word המאורות could also mean angels as in 1QM x 12, 1QH^a ix 11, although 4Q504–6 does not contain any reference to angels except on the Sabbath.

[18] Cf. DJD 7:138–9.

[19] C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 92–4.

(i.e. the Lord's Prayer, *Amidah*), but penitential prayers are never a major focus of daily worship.[20]

This observation is further strengthened in light of a number of other literary features in the *Words of the Luminaries*, such as 1) the occurrence of the petitionary address "Remember, O Lord," for each of the weekday prayers; 2) the requests for deliverance and mercy that occur throughout: e.g. "O Lord, act now according to yourself, according to the greatness of your power by which you endured our fathers in their rebellion . . . turn back now your anger and your wrath from your people Israel on account of all [their] si[n]" (1 ii 7–8, 11); "And now, on this day that our hearts have been humbled, we have made expiation for our iniquity and the iniquity of our fathers . . ." (2 vi 4–5); and 3) the general content of the prayers—i.e. a survey of Israel's salvation-history—further highlights the penitential genre of this document. Within a penitential framework all of these features are most apt for times of special circumstances.[21]

The association of remembrance and penitence with festivals and special days is clearly seen in the biblical tradition, as these times are commonly referred to as 'days of memorial' or 'days of remembrance' (e.g. Ex 12:14; Nehemiah 9, Baruch 1:14ff.; 4Q320 4 iii 6, 4Q321 v 6, vi 1; Sir 50:16; Ps-Philo, *L.A.B.* 13:4, 6). By way of example, one immediately thinks of the Festival of Booths in Nehemiah 8, in which the Ezra blesses God, and the people respond with a double Amen after the reading of the Torah; penitential prayer was then recited two weeks later, on the twenty-fourth day.[22] Further still, the language used in the *Words of the Luminaries* is

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[20] Recently in his discussion of penitential prayer in rabbinic Judaism, Richard Sarason has noted that this genre was reserved for times of acute crisis and was never mandated for daily communal petitionary prayer (although he does allow an exception for the Qumran community), stating that if such prayers were recited daily, "what stops would be left to pull out in order to dramatize the heightened intensity of an actual emergency?" In, R. Sarason, "The Persistence and Trajectories of Penitential Prayer in Rabbinic Judaism," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 3: The Impact of Penitential Prayer Beyond Second Temple Period Judaism* (ed. M. Boda, D. Falk, and R. Werline; Early Judaism and Its Literature 23; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 7. M. Boda also sees it unlikely that penitential prayers became a daily activity ("Form Criticism in Transition: Penitential Prayer and Lament, *Sitz im Leben* and Form," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 1: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* [ed. M. Boda, D. Falk, and R. Werline; Early Judaism and Its Literature 22; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006], 190).

[21] Cf. R. A. Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 147ff.; D. Flusser, "Psalms, Hymns, Prayers," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M. E. Stone; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 570–3.

[22] Falk discusses the possibility of a festival setting, and suggests that if this is the setting, the clause 'let us keep the feast of (our) redemption' in Tuesday's prayer (4Q504 5 ii

closely affiliated with that of the *Festival Prayers* (1Q34, 1Q34bis, 4Q507, 4Q508, 4Q509 +4Q505?), and the scroll on which one of the manuscripts of *Words of the Luminaries* has been copied, 4Q506, contains a copy of *Festival Prayers* (4Q509 + 4Q505?) on the recto side. Tov has suggested that the two manuscripts were copied on the same scroll because of a shared relationship.[23] In light of these difficulties, I hesitate to classify this text as a liturgy for daily prayer. It is possible, however, that it nonetheless had an impact on the development, but this must be researched further.

3. 4Q503

4Q503 *Daily Prayers* contains communal blessings to be recited in the evening (בערב) and at sunrise (ובצאת השמש להאיר על הארץ) for each day for one month of the year. The scroll is very damaged, broken into some 225 fragments; however, its reconstruction is somewhat possible because the blessings for each day are very formulaic, and because the scroll contains a different liturgical document (4Q512) on the opposite (verso) side, allowing one to recheck the congruity of the reconstruction. Numerous attempts to reconstruct the document since Baillet's original reconstruction have achieved roughly the same result with the exception of the placement of frgs. 1–3.[24] Despite the fragmentary condition of 4Q503, its importance for examining the origins and development of prayer in

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+ 4Q506 124 1–5), might refer to the Feast of Unleavened Bread. In the end, though, Falk concludes that in the absence of any real positive evidence for such setting (i.e. absence of calendrical dating), "It is best to assume that the prayers in the *Words of the Luminaries* were repeated for each week of the year" (Falk, *Daily Prayer*, 88).

[23] E. Tov, "Opisthographs from the Judean Desert," in *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (ed. B. G. Wright III; Scholars Press Homage Series 24; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 11–18.

[24] For the *editio princeps* see M. Baillet, "Prières quotidiennes," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III*, 105–36. I follow the basic reconstruction of 4Q503 presented by J. Baumgarten in, "4Q503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar," *RevQ* 12 (1986): 399–406; D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 29–35; Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 209; and F. Schmidt, "Le Calendrier liturgical des Prières Quotidiennes (4Q503)," in *Le Temps et les Temps dans les literatures juives et chrétiennes au tournant de notre ère* (ed. C. Grappe and J.-C. Ingelaere; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55–87, esp. 75–85. The main difference between the reconstructions offered by Baumgarten, Falk, Davila, and Schmidt, and the original reconstruction offered by Baillet (DJD VII) is the placement of frgs. 1–3. Baumgarten noticed an illogical sequence of days in Baillet's reconstruction and suggested that frgs. 2–3 (day 4 according to Baillet) should be moved from column III to column VII (thus day fourteen and fifteen). Falk added frg. 1 to column VII, and Davila and Schmidt have followed his suggestion. In addition to Falk's work, Schmidt added previously unplaced frgs. 42–44 (day thirteen and fourteen) and frg.

Judaism should not be underestimated, not least because it is one of the earliest extant witnesses (copied 100–75 BCE) of an actual daily liturgy.[25]

Before discussing the daily times of prayer listed in 4Q503 I will first examine the document's liturgical features (3.1.). This will then be followed by a discussion of the calendrical schema upon which the sequencing of days and reckoning of time is based (3.2.; 3.3.). After this I will discuss the times of prayer prescribed in the document (3.4.), which will then be followed by a discussion of a central motif in the document: prayer with angels (3.5.). Finally, I will examine the question of the document's provenance (3.6.) and whether 4Q503 originated in the Qumran community or in a more mainstream setting. The question of provenance is notably difficult and can only be assessed properly after we discuss the liturgical features of the text, its distinctive vocabulary and motifs, and the calendar upon which the liturgy is based.

3.1. *Liturgical Features*

There are a number of features in 4Q503 that attest to its liturgical and communal usage, particularly the antiphonally arranged components in each prayer that are indicated by the abrupt but regular changes of pronouns. For example, the opening directive to pray is always written in the third person plural form prior to every blessing, both morning and evening, "And they shall bless, answer, and say" (יברכו וענ[ו ואמרו]; 1–3 1). Then, within the body of the prayers, there is a switch to the first person plural indicating the response of another group—the congregation of Israel. This group always addresses God in the second or third person singular: "And we, the sons of your covenant will praise your name" (ואנו [בנ]י בריתכה נ]הללל[ה שמכה; 7–9 3). In the closing blessing of the prayer, both in the evening and morning, we always find Israel addressed in the second person, "Peace be upon you Israel" (ש[לום עלי]כה ישראל; 1–3 10), indicating, again, a switch in persons in the liturgical dialogue.[26]

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15 (day twelve) to the reconstruction, and also rearranged frgs. 24–25 (day eleven), based on the sequence of the contents in 4Q512 on the verso side of the manuscript.

[25] See E. Schuller, "Prayers and Psalms from the Pre-Maccabean Period," *DSD* 13 (2006): 306–18. *Words of the Luminaries* is older (c. 150 BCE; cf. DJD VII, 137) than 4Q503 but see note 3.

[26] Based on the form of the concluding phrase, "שלום עליכה ישראל," some speculation has arisen concerning the possibility of the involvement of a priestly group. Falk points out that in the Hebrew Bible, the formula שלום על ישראל is usually written in the third person (Ps 125:5; 128:6), except when used by priests, in which case Israel is addressed in the second person. For example, the priestly blessing in Num 6:26 addresses Israel in

Other liturgical features include the frequent references throughout the text to praising God, often together with angels (cf. 7–9 4; 15 2, 5; 37–38 21; 40–41 6–7; 65 2, 3), rubrical headings designating each day of the month, and lastly, the use of unvarying vocabulary and blessing formulas allowing for easy recitation or memorization.

3.2. *Calendar: The Sequence of Prayers and Reckoning of Days*

The daily prayers are regulated according to the 364-day solar calendar that includes intercalary lunation similar to the Enochic *Astronomical Book* (*1 En.* 72–82).[27] It is likely that this liturgy is comprised of one

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the second person, "וישם לך שלום." Falk (*Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 53–4) therefore tentatively argues that the closing formula in 4Q503 was recited by a priest. J. Maier ("Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde," *RevQ* 14 [1989–90]: 579), has argued that *Daily Prayers* were used by a "priest-dominated group." On the question of who recited these prayers, both Falk and Maier have taken up Heinemann's argument that the one pronouncing the "You" address in this formula is dissociated in some way from the congregation. Heinemann argues that the "You" address is inappropriate for a synagogue setting since the leader was regarded as a member of the congregation, and that the "You address" must have originated in the temple and was used when the priests pronounced the blessing in front of the congregation (*Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* [trans. R. Sarason; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977], 104–11). Benedictions of peace have been found in synagogue inscriptions, although the blessing does not contain the "You address" (שלום על ישראל אמן; see one example published in S. Gutman, Z. Yeivin, and E. Netzer, "Excavations in the Synagogue at Ḥorvat Susiya," in *Ancient Synagogues Revealed* (ed. L. Levine; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981], 127–8). See also E. Chazon who remains skeptical of Falk's and Maier's arguments, in "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts: An Analysis of the Daily Prayers (4Q503)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery, 1947–1997. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 221–2.

[27] See the recent book of J. Ben-Dov, who argued that the *Astronomical Book*, the earliest systematic statement about calendars in Judaism, was adopted from Babylonian astronomical practice (cf. *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* [STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008]); This argument was first worked out in detail in M. Albani, *Astronomische und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (WMANT 68; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994); see also J. VanderKam, "Sources for the Astronomy in *1 Enoch* 72–82," in vol. 2 of *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Postbiblical Judaism Presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (ed. C. Cohen et al.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008], 2:965–78). The Enochic *Astronomical Book*, written no later than the third century BCE, gives unambiguous witness to the 364-day solar year calendar and the intercalation of the lunar cycle within the solar year. The introduction of the intercalated solar-lunar calendar probably developed under Babylonian and Persian influence, but intercalation is presented in the *Astronomical Book* and later texts with the assertion that God's creation exists harmoniously, as specified in *1 En.* 72:1 (cf. also Gen 1:14–19). At Qumran, this harmonious relationship was extended to include the priestly *mishmarot* cycles, as, according to 4Q319 and 4Q320–321a, the *mishmarot* were intercalated with the solar year. For an overview see J. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London: Routledge, 1998), 77–88.

month of the year, but since we do not have the beginning and end of the document, it is not impossible that 4Q503 could include additional months of the year. Why only one month is recorded is not stated and we can only speculate.[28] It seems that, aside from its liturgical purpose, the basic premise of 4Q503 is to establish a liturgical calendar of prayer that is coordinated with the cycles of the sun and moon (and possibly stars). These transitions are recounted according to the astronomical calendar exemplified in the *Astronomical Book* where the movements of the sun and moon are also synchronized over a period of one month.[29] There is a festival on day 15 (4 2: לחגי שמחה ומועדי כ[בוד), which means the month in question would either be Nisan, the first month of the year, or perhaps, but not likely, Tishrei, the seventh month. The motifs that occur on this festival day—"by the stren]gth of [his] powerful hand," and "when he passed over" (בפוסחו; frg. 1 5)—indicate that the festival is Passover, in which case the month would be Nisan (cf. Exod 12:13, 23, 27).[30]

Technically, the true lunar year is comprised of 12 months of 29.53 days each, totaling 354 days, but the true solar year consisted of 365.25 days. Intercalation of the annual lunar cycle thus created a deficit of 11.25 days when aligned with the annual solar cycle. The solution for this deficit, according to *1 En.* 74:11, was to insert intercalary days. The calendrical texts from cave 4 such as 4Q320–321a also demonstrate, often painstakingly, such an intercalary technique. For a helpful introduction and summary of these issues see also Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*; S. Stern, "Qumran Calendars: Theory and Practice," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Historical Context* (ed. T. Lim et al.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 179–86; J. Ben-Dov and S. Saulnier, "Qumran Calendars: A Survey of Scholarship 1980–2007," *Currents in Biblical Research* 7 (2008): 124–68; J. VanderKam, "Calendrical Texts and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scroll Community," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. Wise et al.; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 371–86; E. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (2d ed.; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 13ff.

[28] Reiner in her book *Astral Magic* discusses a number of calendar texts from Selucid Uruk that list thirty consecutive days of the month, the purpose of which is to correlate the "relationship of days of the month and the signs of the zodiac" (cf. *Astral Magic in Babylonia* [Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1995], 114ff.). Astrological concern does not appear in 4Q503, as far as I can tell, but clearly more comparative research is needed on 4Q503 within the broader calendrical sciences of the ancient Near East.

[29] See Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 77ff., who discusses in detail the synchronization of the sun and moon in the *Astronomical Book*.

[30] This assumes that Falk's placement of frg. 1 is correct. See Davila (*Liturgical Works*, 217–8), Chazon ("Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts," 220), and Baumgarten ("4Q503," 401–2) who agree that the month is Nisan. M. Abegg, however, argues that the month is Tishrei. He keeps Baillet's original placement of frg. 1 in column III—thus the word בפוסחו cannot refer to Passover—to bolster his claim that the month in question is Tishrei, the seventh month that also has a festival on the 15th day (Sukkot). His claim is part of a broader argument that the calendar of the Qumran community commenced with a full moon—this is based on his interpretation of the word דוק found in 4Q317 and 4Q321 cf. "Does Anyone Really Know What Time It Is: A Reexamination of 4Q503 in Light of 4Q317," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technical Innova-*

Whereas the *Astronomical Book* is unconcerned with prayer or liturgy, the author of 4Q503 has adopted this calendar for the performance of daily prayer. The correlation between calendar and prayer is found within both the directive formula to pray that precedes the body of evening prayers ("on the *X* of the month in the evening, they shall bless"), and within the body of the prayer itself, in which the astronomical changes of the moon and sun are reckoned by a number of technical terms: 'lots' (גורל), 'gates' (שער), and 'divisions' or 'flags' (דגל).

The term used to count the phases of the moon is 'lots' (גורל). These phases are counted according to the number of "lots of light" (גורלות אור) or "darkness" (חושך) as seen on its surface (cf. 4–6 10; 39 2; 51–55 14), and are intercalated with the sun's movements.[31] In this calendar the moon contains a total of fourteen parts of light and darkness, which increase and decrease incrementally according to the lunar cycle. On a full moon, there are zero parts of darkness and fourteen parts of light. Thus, for example, in an evening prayer for the sixth day of the month, the text counts five "lots of light" on the lunar surface (cf. 4–6 10).[32]

As in the *Astronomical Book*, the liturgy in 4Q503 counts the days by the daily rising of the sun (cf. *1 En.* 73:4). Each day the sun passes through

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tions, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues [ed. D. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 396–406). Since, Abegg argues, the Qumran community held the cosmogonic view that the moon was created full and thus begins the New Year, and since 4Q503 begins the month instead with the new moon, the month in question in 4Q503 must be Tishrei. Abegg assumes, however, that the calendar of 4Q503 must be the same as in 4Q317 and 4Q321. This is problematic as 4Q503 shows remarkable closeness to the calendar in the *Astronomical Book*, a calendar that begins with the new moon rather than the full moon (cf. *1 En.* 73:4–6). For further discussion of this problem, see the section on provenance (section 2.6.). (For a helpful discussion of the word דוק and a review of the different possible meanings, cf. VanderKam, "Calendrical Texts and the Origins," 380–3.)

[31] The word גורלות appears a fourth time in 51–52 2 but the context cannot be reconstructed.

[32] That five lots of light occur on day six would indicate that the month begins with zero lots of light and fourteen lots of darkness, the new moon. 4Q317 (cryptA Lunar Solar Calendar) is also based on the fourteen day progression of the lunar system to count the days of the month, but, as in *1 En.*, 4Q317 does not contain any concern for liturgical worship. Based on the extant occurrences of these phrases in 4Q317, Abegg (Cf. "Does Anyone Really Know What Time It Is," 400) has suggested that "lots of light" in 4Q503 are only counted during the moons waxing period toward the full moon, and "lots of darkness" during the moon's waning period (frg. 39 2). Abegg may be correct as the amount of lunar light available during the night was often counted in the ancient world. For us to accept Abegg's proposal, however, we must alter our understanding of the lunar system in 4Q503 to count the hours of lunar light during the night instead of the illuminated surface area on the moon. Recently Drawnel has argued that the *Astronomical Book* in fact counts the hours of lunar light during the night. Cf. H. Drawnel, "Moon Computation in the Aramaic Astronomical Book," *RevQ 23* (2007): 3–41.

a certain number of "gates of light," the technical term used to count the day of the month (שערי אור) (cf. 1 3 [reconstr.]; 4 3; 9 1; 19 2; 30 7; 35 5 [reconstr.]; 38 2). "Gates of light" are always recounted in the morning prayer when the sun "rises to shine upon the earth" to establish the calendar day.[33] Thus, the technical term "lots" indicates the incremental phases of the lunar cycle in the evening and is coordinated with the number of "gates" the sun passes through each morning.[34]

It is noteworthy that the calendrical day marked in the evening ("on the *X* of the month in the evening, they shall bless") is always the same as the following day in the morning, which indicates that while the day began in the evening, it was still reckoned according to sunrise, again reaffirming the solar priority within the calendrical scheme.[35] That is, the day of the month is always reckoned according to the "gate of light" that the sun will pass through in the morning, not the flags of light and darkness on the moon from the previous night.[36]

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[33] The phrase "gates of glory" (שערי כבוד) also appears in 53 2. It also may be possible to reconstruct this phrase in frg. 33 i 7.

[34] Whereas in 4Q503 the "gates" through which the sun passes are used to calculate the day, probably for the duration one monthly cycle, it is appropriate to point out that in *1 En.* 72 and *2 En.* 15, twelve "gates" are counted, once per month, perhaps by noting the changing position of the sun along the horizon. Thus in these two texts "gates" are used to count the annual movement of the sun, much like an annual cosmic clock. *2 En.* 15:3 states: "And they showed me this calculation of the sun's movement, and the gates by which he goes in and out; for these are the great gates which God created to be an annual horologe" (trans. *OTP* I, 126). For a brief discussion of this particular method of calendrical reckoning, see McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures*, 14–5; Ben-Dov, *Head of All Days*, 32; R. Hannah, *Time in Antiquity* (Sciences of Antiquity; London: Routledge, 2009).

[35] Cf. Baumgarten, "4Q503," 404–5.

[36] Contra Baumgarten, "4Q503," 399–406, who argued that the calendar was reckoned according to the lunar calendar. The reckoning of the beginning of the day is somewhat ambiguous in the biblical record. We see, on the one hand, that the daily cultic schedule of sacrifices began with the morning (Exod 29:39; Num 28:3–4: בבקר, בין הערבים), which may indicate that the day began in the morning. On the other hand, some important days and events began in the evening, such as the Day of Atonement (Lev 23:32) and Passover (Exod 12:18). Based on the sequence of evening—morning, Gen 1 also seems to reckon evening as the beginning of the day (a similar sequences of evening—morning is found in Deut 6:7). Periods of impurity also ended in the evening indicating an evening—morning sequence; in Num 19:7 for example, the priest who sacrifices the red heifer remains unclean until evening. In Neh 13:19, Sabbath begins in the evening. To explain these seemingly contradictory statements, R. de Vaux argued that within the Hebrew Bible there is a development in which, by the beginning of the Second Temple period, the day was reckoned as beginning in the evening (in, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* [trans. J. McHugh; repr.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997], 180–3; see also VanderKam, *Calendars*, 12–13).

S. Talmon has hypothesized that while indeed mainstream Jewish society reckoned the beginning of the day from the evening, the community members of Qumran, who followed strictly the 364-day solar calendar, instead reckoned the beginning of the day from

Regarding the word 'flag'/'division'/'troop' (דגל), we see such technical terms as "divisions of light" דגלי אור (10 2) and "divisions of night" דגלי לילה (29–32 11, 19), but, because of the fragmentary condition of the text, it is difficult to determine what exactly is recounted and to what these terms

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the morning. The 364-day solar calendar would have not only led to the establishment of calendrical dates different than a lunar reckoning, the reckoning of the day at sunrise rather than sunset would lead to celebrating of the Sabbath at different times: i.e. Jews following the solar calendar Sabbath would begin in the morning whereas those following the lunar cycle Sabbath would have started already the night before. Talmon points to a number of passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls in which the sequence of morning and evening begins with morning, such as 1QS X 13–14 (contra Deut 6:7):

בשבתך	ובלכתך	בשכבך	ובקומך	:Deut 6:7	
צאת	ובוא לשבת	וקום	ועם משכב יצועי	:1QS X 14	

Talmon also proposes that whereas the verbs יצא and בוא always denote respectively sunset and sunrise, the members of the community reversed the meaning so that יצא refers to sunrise, the exiting of the sun through its eastern gate in the morning, and that בוא refers to its entering the western gate in the evening. See S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," *ScrHier* 4 (1958): 162–199; idem, "What's in a Calendar? Calendar Conformity, Calendar Controversy, and Calendar Reform in Ancient and Medieval Judaism," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered in Honor of Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. R. Troxel, K. Friebel, and D. Magary; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 451–60; J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM Press, 1959), 152.

In general, it seems that Talmon is correct to argue that the Qumran sectaries followed a solar calendar and that this calendar differed from another lunar based calendar followed by other Jews during the same period, although it is also clear that, because of the group's calendrical affinities with *Astronomical Book* and *Jubilees*, the Qumran community operated clearly within an established calendrical tradition to which other Jews also adhered. That this tradition uniformly rejected lunar computation, however, is not always clear particularly in view of 4Q503. Further, it is not always clear that the morning—evening sequence was followed for reckoning all events. The parallel use of יצא and בוא in 1QS X 10 suggests these words are interchangeable, used to describe either sunrise or sunset: "עם מבוא יום ולילה אבואה בברית אל ועם מוצא ערב ובוקר אמר חוקיו." The interchangeability of these terms is also apparent in the Hebrew Bible: Ps 65:9 (מוצאי בקר וערב); Ps 104:19 (שמש ירע מבואו); Josh 8:29; 10:27 (בוא השמש); 2 Chr 18:34 (בוא השמש); Neh 4:15 (צאת הכוכבים); Ps 19:7 (השמים מוצאו [השמש]); 104:23 (יצא). Moreover, it is not clear that 1QS X 14 is alluding only to Deut 6:7. It is quite possible that the author has woven in allusions to Ps 104:23 ("People go out to their work and to their labor until the evening" יצא אדם לפעלו ולעבדתו עדיערב) which uses יצא to describe the beginning of human activity, the main theme also of 1QS X 13–14, not celestial movements (cf. Ch. Two for further discussion). Further, the period of impurity always ends at sundown for both mainstream Jews and the Qumranites (see for example, Num 19:7; 4QMMT B 14–16; 11QT LI 4–5) which again problematizes the question of the beginning of the day. As we just saw in 4Q503, the liturgy begins with the evening even though the calendar on which it is based is reckoned according to sunrise. In other texts such as *Jubilees* (cf. 1:14; 2:8–10; 6:36), a text that vehemently denies any privilege to the moon, the day too seems to begin in the evening, at least in the episode of Abraham's almost-sacrifice of Isaac (VanderKam, *Calendar*, 33, suggests that chronology of *Jubilees* 18 must be explained by this assumption; see also J. Baumgarten, "The Beginning of the Day in the Calendar of Jubilees," *JBL* 77 [1958]: 355–60).

refer. In 4QEn^{a} 1 ii 2, 3, 6 and 4QEn^{b} 28 1, דגל refers to constellations, and it is likely that, at least in some instances, both terms, "divisions of light" (דגלי אור) and "divisions of night" (דגלי לילה), also refer to astronomical phenomena during the course of the month.[37]

E. Chazon has argued that in some cases, such as in frg. 7–9 3–4 ("the sons of your covenant shall praise [...] with all the divisions of [light"), דגל alludes metaphorically to angelic hosts praising God while still being associated with the luminaries.[38] This meaning of דגל may also be apparent in another Qumran text, 4Q502 27 3, where Baillet reconstructed "with all the flags of the moon" (עם כול דגלי יר[חים]). This phrase, situated in a context that included such phrases as "eternal spirits," "with the stars of heaven," and "se[rving you always," may also allude metaphorically to angelic beings. It is also worth mentioning that both terms דגלי אור and דגלי לילה are found extant only in the body of morning prayers,[39] and it is also clear that in 4Q503 דגל cannot refer to angels in every instance, particularly with such phrases as "divisions of night" דגלי לילה (29–32 11,

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[37] Milik equates דגל in 4QEn^{a} 1 ii 2 with אות as "natural, regular and cyclical phenomena" (J. T. Milik, *Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 147–8; cf. also Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 210).

[38] Cf. E. Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery, Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VankerKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 223; eadem, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. E. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35–47; eadem, "Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran," in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran, Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (ed. D. Falk and F. García Martínez; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 97–8. See also the discussion of the term דגל in B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 56, n. 29; C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985), 320, notes that in the Hebrew Bible the term דגל refers exclusively to the arrangement of the Israelite camps in the wilderness (e.g. Num 2:3, 10, 18; 10:14, 18, 22), but in rabbinic literature דגל often means a unit or troop of heavenly angels (*Tg. Ezek.* 1:24–25; *Ex. Rab.* 15; *Num. Rab.* 2). The two interpretations of דגל, as angels or astronomical phenomena, are not mutually exclusive. It is reasonable to assume that while the respective terms refer to astronomical phenomena, they were understood to be governed or controlled by angelic spirits, much like we see in the creation story in *Jubilees*, where some angels are given different functions in relation to natural phenomena, such as fire, winds, clouds, darkness, ice, frost, dew, snow, hail, frost, etc... (cf. also Ps 104:4). See R. Sollamo, "The Creation of Angels and Natural Phenomena Intertwined in the *Book of Jubilees* (4QJub^{a})," in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. C. Hempel and J. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 273–90.

[39] Cf. 7–9 4; 10 2; 29–32 11, 19.

19; 42–44 2).[40] Thus, while Chazon is probably correct that the term דגל refers metaphorically to angels at least in some instances, it is difficult to explain why both terms occur only in the extant morning prayers since we find references to angelic worship for both the morning and evening. If דגל alludes to angels, it does so by way of four different terms in this document, as there are references to angels as "holy ones" קודשים (see, e.g., 15 2; 37–38 8; 40–41 7), "witnesses" עדים (11 4; 15 5; 65 3), and "hosts of gods/angels" צבאות אלים (65 2). (For further discussion of angels in the document, see section 2.5. and 2.6.)

3.3. *The Calendar in 4Q503 and Times of Prayer*

We see from a variety of Qumran texts in addition to 4Q503 (e.g. 4Q319, 4Q320–321a) that, while the solar cycle is given priority in reckoning the calendar, others including the lunar cycle (and priestly *mishmarot* cycle), were synchronized with the solar movements.[41] Indeed, 4Q503 demonstrates that both sets of lights, the sun *and* the moon play a role in marking time. Whatever the origins of such a synchronistic calendar (i.e. from Babylon), at Qumran this calendar was followed because of a particular cosmological view of the universe, derived from Gen 1:14–19 where *both* the moon and the sun play a role in marking time (למועדים) within their respective domains—the sun for day and the moon (and stars) for night.[42] 4Q503 demonstrates that both the sun and the moon[43] are time markers not only by tailoring a set of liturgical blessings for each day of a particular month, but also by recounting each phase of the sun and moon within the body of each prayer, the phase of the sun in

[40] That דגל refers to angels in these phrases would be more convincing if instead the term read דגלי חושך rather than the phrase דגלי לילה (29–32 19). In many instances in Qumran literature we find that חושך contains an ethical or ontological quality, which includes humans and angels (1QM I 1), as well as periods of time (מועדי חושך; 1QM I 8).

[41] Abegg categorizes and summarizes five different calendrical cycles found in the Dead Sea Scrolls calendars in, "Does Anyone Really Know What Time It Is," 396–8: 1) a 364-day year cycle, 2) a three-year lunar cycle, 3) a six-year priestly cycle of temple service, 4) a forty-nine year Jubilee cycle, 5) a 294-year cycle of six Jubilees.

[42] Contrast this with *Jub.* 2:9–10, where the moon has no calendrical function: "The Lord appointed the sun as a great sign above the earth for days, Sabbaths, months, festivals, years, Sabbaths, of years, jubilees, and all times of the years. It separates between light and darkness and (serves) for wellbeing . . . ." Translation from J. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Scriptores Aethiopici 88; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989), 11.

[43] And perhaps stars. In frgs. 1–3 9, we find language pertaining to the "revolutions of vessels of light" ([תְּסוֹבֹות כלי אור]), which likely refers to the cycle of heavenly luminaries.

the morning (daytime) and the phase of the moon in the evening (nighttime). These times for worship were believed to be pre-determined according to God's architectural design of the cosmos that was established at creation.

3.4. *Times of Prayer*

The directives given throughout 4Q503 clearly indicate that prayer was to be recited communally in the evening and at sunrise. For prayer at sunrise, the text states: "when the sun ascends/goes forth (√יצא) to shine upon the earth" (ובצאת השמש להאיר על הארץ).[44] For prayer in the evening, however, we simply read, "in the evening they shall bless" (בערב יברכו); there is no explicit attempt to coordinate this time of prayer with any astronomical phenomena. One might be able to infer, based on the morning directive to pray at sunrise, that the time for evening prayer must be at sunset, and so both prayer times are connected to sunrise and sunset.[45] In frg. 64 4–5, however, we find the curious phrase, "a sign for us for the night at the appointed time (]אות לנו ללילה בְּמוֹעֵ[ד) . . . a night to be {praising} with us (לילה להיות {מהללים} עִמנו [])." In other scrolls such as 4Q319 (see columns IV–VI) and 1QS X 4 the moon is referred to as a sign (אות), recalling Gen 1:14 where God designated the "lights of the firmament of heaven" as signs to separate day and night. Given that this sign in 4Q503 is at night, it is reasonable to assume that the time of prayer in the evening is somehow coordinated with the appearance of the luminaries God appointed to govern nighttime. In 4Q408 3+3a 10 we read something similar: "[You] crea[ted] the evening, a sign to reveal the dominion of [darkness." Although the moon is not explicitly mentioned here, we must suppose, again based on Gen 1:14, that the sign is not the 'evening' *per se*, but rather the appearance of nighttime luminaries (i.e. the moon and stars).[46]

Thus, one may tentatively argue that when the luminaries appear, the sun for the morning, the moon and stars for the evening, the community

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[44] The use of the word יצא to indicate the arrival of the sun is common nomenclature in the Hebrew Bible and in other Dead Sea Scrolls texts and is derived from the idea that the sun exits different "gates" at sunrise, as we see in the *Astronomical Book*.

[45] This is the perspective of Chazon, who argues that the introductory rubrics "specify the hour of morning prayer as sunrise thereby implying that the evening prayer took place at an analogous time namely, sunset" ("Function of the Qumran Prayer Text," 218–9).

[46] The same expression occurs in 4Q408 3+3a 8 regarding sunrise: ברתה את הבקר אות להופיע ממשלת אור לגבול יומם.

understands that they should begin their praises. That the appearance of the moon and stars was within the dominion of nighttime and that this was when the community commenced with prayer might also be demonstrated by the fact that a) the counting of the moon's lunar light occurs within the body of the prayer itself, and b) luminaries are closely associated with angels, and their appearance signaled to the community when to pray.[47] Even if the counting of the lunar lots of light is theoretical, based on calculation rather than observation, it is logical to assume that if the prayers contain astronomical data regarding the cycle of the moon, the ideal setting for the recital these prayers would be in view of the nighttime luminaries to deepen the experience of those praying, and, moreover, because the community desired to pray with the angels who were associated with the stars, it is logical to assume they prayed in view of these.

Numerous other references to time occur, but it is difficult to discern their meaning. In addition to the closing of the evening prayer after the usual response "Peace be upon you, Israel," we sometimes find an additional phrase "in all times of the night" (בכול מועדי לילה; 33 i-34 21; 40–41 3). The formula is reversed in frg. 51–55 10: בכול]מועדי לילה שלום עליכה [ישראל]. The specific reference to night, rather than a more general reference to time such as in the blessing at 4Q503 64 8 (]מ[ו]ע[ד]י עולמים [ברוך אל ישראל בכול]) suggests that there may have been times during the night other than "in the evening" that were significant.[48] We will discuss further in Chapter Five the possibility that the phrase "in all times of the night" (בכול מועדי לילה) may allude to prayer that extended throughout the night. For this chapter, our purpose is to demonstrate that the basic pattern of daily prayer in this document was based on astronomical cycles.

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[47] Baumgarten suggests the calendar in 4Q503 was appealing precisely because of its calculability; that is, the fixity and rigidity of this calendar lent itself to the deterministic world-view of the Qumranites. He further points out that the mode in which this calendar was revealed, via heavenly tablets, contrasts with the rabbinic calendar, which was kept through the observation of the courts. See J. Baumgarten, "Tannaitic Halakhah and Qumran—A Re-Evaluation," in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 7–9 January, 2003* (ed. S. Fraade, A. Shemesh, and R. Clements; STDJ 62; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 9–10. For further discussion of time-reckoning in the rabbinic calendar, see Chapter Three in Sacha Stern's book, *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003), 59ff.

[48] This phrase may is also found (reconstructed) in 4Q491 11 ii 18: (שלום [לי]שראל בכול מועדי]ו עולמים). See also similar phrases at: 1QM XII 3, XIV 18 (בכול מועדי עולמים[]); 4Q511 35 7–8 (]מ[ועדי עולמים [לכול]).

3.5. *Prayer with Angels*

The question of what motivated those using this text to pray at sunrise and in the evening requires further analysis of the motifs and themes associated with each time for prayer. Collectively, both times, "sunrise" and the "evening," are fixed because the regularity and predictability of these phenomena allow those praying to keep a schedule according to the divinely established order of cosmos.

The frequent reference to angels in 4Q503 implies another motive for the strict adherence to the astronomical cycle. It allowed the community to live in coordination with, and correspondence to, the praises of their angelic counterparts in the heavens above. The appearance of the sun for daytime and the moon and stars for nighttime signaled to the community that angelic worship had commenced in the heavens above and could begin below. Throughout 4Q503 the earthly congregation is frequently mentioned to be "praising" and "witnessing" together with angels (עמנו, "with us;" 11 4; 37–38 21; 64 5; 65 3; 66 1; 78 2; 98 1).[49] Most of the preserved references to praise alongside angels are found in morning prayers in which the angels are referred to as 'witnesses,' 'holy ones,' 'heavenly hosts,' or 'troops of light':

7–9 3–4: [אור][50] עם כול דגלי [ברי]תכה נֹהֹלל[ה שמכה] בנֵי ואנו ("[We] the sons of your covenant will prais[e your name] with all the troops of [light]").
10 2: עֹם דגלי אור [("With the troops of light").
15 2: [51]דשים במרומֹ[ים קו] ("Ho]ly ones on high").
15 5: [52]ועדים לנו בקוד קודשים ("And witnesses for us in the holy of holies").
29–32 10: [ו]עמנֹו ברנות כבודכה ("And with us in the rejoicing of your glory").

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[49] P. Schäfer writes, "The preposition *'im* is typical of the Qumran concept of the communion of angels and humans. The same is true from the word *goral*, which appears frequently in texts mentioning this communion" (in P. Schäfer, "Communion with the Angels: Qumran and the Origins of Jewish Mysticism," in *Mystical Aproaches to God: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (ed. P. Schäfer; München: Oldenbourg, 2006], 39). See also H. Morisada Rietz, "Synchronizing Worship: Jubilees as a Tradition for the Qumran Community," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 111–8.

[50] See also B. Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing: Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran* (Uppsala: S. Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1999), 69; E. Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications," *DSD* 1 (1994): 283, n. 71. Both reconstruct "flags/troops of light" and suggest that the phrase refers to angels.

[51] Baillet reconstructed this line: קודש קו[דשים במרומֹ]ים ("…saint des sa]ints dans les hauteur[s…(DJD VII, 110).

[52] Baillet suggests that בקוד is a mistake and should be read as בקודש (DJD VII, 110).

48–50 8: [אל כול צבאות אל]ים אשר[ע]ם בני צדק ("[God of all the hosts of an]gels who are[wi]th the sons of righteousness").
65 2:]צבאות אלים[("Hosts of angels").
65 3: אור ועדים עמ[נו] ("light, and witnesses with [us").
66 1: עמנו ה[י]ום ("With us today").

There are also references to joint human-angelic praise for the Sabbath both in the morning and the evening:

37–38 21 (morning):]◌ עמנו הללים[מ] ("Praising with us").
40–41 7 (morning): כול קדו[שים] קודשים ("All the ho[ly ones]…holy ones").
37–38 3 (evening): אלוהי כול קודש[ים ("God of all the holy ones").

There are only two extant references that imply joint human-angelic praise in the evening during the week:

11 4: א]נו ועדים עמנו במעמד יומם ("Us and those witnessing with us in the daily station").
64 5:]לילה להיות מהללים[עמנו] ("A night to be praising with us").[53]

That we find these pray-ers in concert with angels is not surprising as there are multiple examples of such human-angelic praise in the Second Temple period,[54] although it is important to note that joint praise

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[53] A number of other terms could possibly refer to angels although we cannot know definitively. See for example: ministers מ]שרתים (20 2; cf. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 227), and priesthood כהונה (64 3; 72 6; 81 2).

[54] For an overview, see Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer," 35–47; idem, "Liturgical Communion with the Angels," 95–105; Schäfer, "Communion with the Angels," 37–65; Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing*; Dimant, "Men As Angels," 93–103; See also J. Baumgarten, "Some 'Qumranic' Observations on the Aramaic Levi Document," in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism* (ed. C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S. Paul; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 397–9, who argues that in this document Levi attempts to emulate the posture of angels in prayer with the raising of his hands and the straightening of his feet.

Those that have studied this phenomenon have concluded, generally, that while angelic praise is found in the Hebrew Bible, human-angelic praise appears concretely only in the Second Temple period (cf. Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing*; K. Sullivan, *Wrestling With Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament*. [Leiden: Brill, 2004]). The roots of human-angelic worship are found more broadly within the idea that temples on earth correspond to temples of heavenly archetypes. The culmination of this thinking is most clearly demonstrated with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400 2–7), where angels take on priestly roles (cf. J. Davila, "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *DSD* 9 [2002]: 1–19), but the idea was certainly pervasive in older literature of the Mediterranean world (Cf. J. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama*

for both morning and evening in a fixed and communal setting as evinced in 4Q503 is unprecedented during this time. During the Second Temple period, apart from this text and 4Q408, joint human-angelic prayer is not linked explicitly to set times of the day. In general we find that prayer at sunrise was particularly popular, both for humans (see Chapter Two) and angels,[55] but there are no other references to these two groups worshipping together at a fixed daily time and in a communal setting.

It is noteworthy that in sources mentioning angelic worship at sunrise certain themes are usually present, such as praise (or joy; רנן) for the glory of God's creation and for celestial renewal. In 4Q503, too, these themes are mentioned in the morning prayer for the fourteenth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the month: "Blessed be the Go[d of Israel . . .]. [. . .]. And this day He re[ne]wed [. . .]" (1–3 2); "[We pra]ise your name, God of Lights, in that you have renewed. [. . .]. [. . .] gates of light. And with us in rejoicing (רנות) of your glory [. . .]." (29–32 9–10); "[Blessed are you, God, who] has renewed our happiness with light[. . .]" (33 ii + 35 1–2). Frg. 29–32 9–10 explicitly links renewal, rejoicing, and praise, all pivotal themes within angelic praise, to human praise as well. Thus, just as sources outside 4Q503 relate these themes only to the time of sunrise, 4Q503 continues in this tradition as joy and renewal always occur in the morning.[56]

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of Divine Omnipotence [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988], 78–99; Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 52–5; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 4; Sullivan, *Wrestling With Angels*, 16ff.).

[55] Sunrise is the most prominent time for angelic praise. Job makes reference to the "morning stars singing together" (38:7), and Ben Sira mentions the angels standing and recounting God's glory as the sun rises (Sir 42:16–17). In *Jub.* 2:2–3, a text with many close affinities to the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the *Hymn to the Creator* (11QPsa XXVI 11–12), after their creation on the first day, every angel is assigned a task, some of which are to serve assiduously before the Divine Throne through the singing of the praises to God at sunrise. The *Hymn to the Creator* states: "Separating light from darkness, by the knowledge of his mind he established the dawn. When the angels had witnessed it, they sang aloud" (11QPs^{a} XXVI 11–12)." T. Gaster aptly identified this as a morning hymn (*Dead Sea Scriptures* [3d ed.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976], 227). See also 4Q88 X 5–6. In Ps-Philo's *L.A.B.* 18:6, the angel with whom Jacob wrestled was in charge of the angelic hymns. Although not explicitly stated in Ps-Philo, the reason the angel had to leave in the morning was to fulfill his hymnal duties. This is the assumption in the Greek *L.A.E.* 7:2, 17:1–2 and rabbinic literature (cf. *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 32:27, *Gen. Rab.* 78:2; *b. Hul.* 91b). For a general survey see M. Philonenko, "Prière au soleil et liturgie angélique," in *La littérature intertestamentaire* (ed. A. Caquot; Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 221–8.

[56] The themes associated with sunrise and human-angelic worship are also found in 1QH^{a} XI 22–24: "You have formed from the dust for an eternal council. And a perverted spirit you have purified from great sin that it might take its place with the host of the holy

We find examples of the performance of angelic liturgy in the evening in rabbinic Judaism,[57] but 4Q503 is the only example where we find it explicitly in Second Temple Judaism.[58] Given the strong emphasis of human-angelic praise in 4Q503, it is likely evening was deemed important for communal worship as this was the time when the angels were believed to appear.[59] We see this in particular in frg. 11 4 which states: "…us and those witnessing with us in the daily station" (א]נו ועדים עמנו במעמד יומם). In a number of other passages in the scrolls we see further that angels take up their position in God's heavenly abode, which accordingly is revealed when the stars appear. For instance, the luminaries are stationed in the holy habitation (i.e. heaven) in 1QS X 3 (למעון כבוד) at night, and the same is said about angels in 1QM XII 1–2 (במעון קודשכה) although in the latter text a time is not given. In 1QH^a XXVI 10//4Q427 7 i 14–15 the connection between angels and heavenly luminaries is made more explicit, as is the motif of human-angelic worship: "Rejoic[e in the congre]gation of God! Cry gladly in the tents of salvation (באהלי ישועה)![60]

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ones and enter into community with the congregation of the children of heaven. And you cast for the man an eternal lot with the spirits of knowledge, that he might praise (להלל) your name in a common rejoicing and recount your wonderful acts before all your works" (DJD XL, 115). See also the hymn in 1QH^a XXVI which is replete with similar themes. See especially line 23, "Light appears, and joy pours forth," and line 41, "Declare and say: Blessed be God most high who stretches out the heavens by his might and establishes all their structures by his strength…" (DJD XL, 308–9).

[57] Cf. *Tg. Ps.-J.* to Gen 27:1, where we find that the angels sing praises on the night of Passover. Gen 27:1 (*Ps.-J.*) also records angelic praise on the 14th of Nisan in the evening. There is a tradition in later rabbinic literature in which angels recite the Qedushah at night: "What is meant by, 'And one approached not the other all night?' (Exod 14:20) In that hour the ministering angels wished to utter the song before the Holy One, blessed be He (the song is the Qedushah from Isa 6:3: And one (angel) called unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, etc.)" (cf. *Tg. Ps.-J.* Exod 14:20; *b. Meg.* 10b; *b. San.* 39b).

[58] One exception may be the *Apostrophe to Judah*, a text that mentions that the 'stars of twilight' praise God for the judgment of Belial (4Q88 X 5–6), יהללו שמים וארץ/ יחד יהללו כל כוכבי נשף ("Let the heavens and the earth give praise together, let all the stars of twilight give praises"). The context is not explicitly of daily prayer but this setting is not impossible.

[59] The belief that stars are celestial beings is pervasive in the ancient Mediterranean world (see F. Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004], 185ff.). S. Noegel, J. Walker, and B. Wheeler, eds., *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars*; Stuckenbruck, "Angels and God in Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism," 51 n. 22; *1 En.* 18:15, 21:6, 41:7, 82:9–20, 86:1–4, 88:1, 90:24. See further discussion in Chapter Five.

[60] The parallel between באהלי ישועה and [קודש] במוען is intriguing. In a discussion of Israelite cosmology, Baruch Halpern has argued that the sky was thought of as the fabric of a tent that had been "pitched" (cf. Ps 19:5; 104:2; Isa 40:22). Given the close connection between באהלי ישועה and [קודש] במוען in this text, one wonders if somehow the "tents of salvation" are related to the heavens. See B. Halpern, "Late Israelite Astronomies and the

Give praise in the[holy] dwelling! ([קודש] במוען), extol together (רוממו יחד) among the eternal hosts." In 1QH^a XXIII 1, after recalling that God established (תעמד) the luminaries in the sky, the hymnist declares that "the reports" of God's wonder "shine out before the eyes of those that hear you [i.e. God]." The ability of the luminaries to report God's glory visually, in conjunction with the "hearing" of God, suggests worship of both angels and humans together, and indeed, further on in the psalm the speaker declares "the so]ns of God to be in communion with the sons of heaven" (XXIII 30).[61] 1QH^a XXVI 36 again affirms that both the speaker and the angels come together (ביחד) to stand before God without a mediator.

Further, in 4Q400 2 4–5 we find the notion that the dwelling stations of the angels make up the architecture of the heavenly temple: "And in all the exalted heights wondrous psalms according to all [. . .] the glory of the King of the angels they recount in the dwellings of their station (במעוני עומדם)."[62] As Philip Alexander points out, the correlation between the heavenly abode and the heavenly temple is well-attested so that we must assume that when the angels/stars appear, they are understood to be in the heavenly temple.[63]

We can summarize morning and evening prayer in this particular daily pattern as follows. Morning prayer is linked to the praise of God's glory in creation and the renewal of creation that occurs with every sunrise; evening prayer is linked to the praise of God's glory in the heavenly temple. Those praying on earth take their cue from the appearance of astronomical phenomena, the sun in the morning, and the moon and stars in the evening. For both times of prayer, the congregation on earth assumes an angelic counterpart to be praising with them.

Early Greeks," in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel and their Neighbors—From the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina* (ed. W. Dever and S. Gitin; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 325. See also 1QH^a XX 5–6 which parallels "holy dwelling" (במעון קו[דש; although קו[דש was corrected to ש[לום), again, a reference to the heavens, with "tents of glory" (באהלי כבוד):

> 5. [*h*]with rejoicing and [joy. And I will dwel]l securely in a ho[ly] dwelling in a {pea[ceful]} dwelling [in] quiet and ease,
> 6. [in peac]e and blessing in the tents of glory and deliverance. I will praise your name in the midst of those who fear you. (DJD XL, 259)

[61] 1QH^a XXIII 30: ב[נֵי אלים להחיד עם בני שמים].

[62] The term "dwelling" (מעון) appears eight times in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, always referring to the heavenly realm. In the Hebrew Bible the word can be a general term for a dwelling (i.e. the "lair" of jackals in Jer 9:10), but it also refers to the dwelling of God in heaven (e.g. Deut 26:15) and in the temple (Ps 26:8). In the Dead Sea Scrolls it can refer to the community as a temple (1QS VIII 8) or to God's heavenly dwelling (1QS X 3; 1QM XII 1; 4Q287 II 13; 4Q491c I 13; 4Q510 I 13; 1QH^a XXVI 10).

[63] Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 54–5.

3.6. *Provenance*

Solving the question of the provenance of 4Q503 is important as it would give some indication of the socio-historical setting of fixed daily communal prayer in the Second Temple period. If 4Q503 was authored within the Qumran community, we would be forced to conclude that some of the text's extraordinary features—a well-organized liturgy coordinated by the heavenly luminaries, and the attestation of daily human-angelic praise—may not be representative of a more mainstream Jewish worship in the Second Temple period. A corollary matter in this discussion is that determining the provenance of 4Q503 may aid in deciding the original date of the composition; that is, if the liturgy is non-sectarian, it would likely be older than the single copy found at Qumran (100–75 BCE).

As others have already expressed, the provenance of 4Q503 is difficult to determine. The early first-century BCE date (c. 100–75 BCE) of this copy certainly fits within the Qumran chronology. The appearance of particular scribal markings such as marginal hooks (e.g. 1 1; 4 1; 5 1, 5; 8 2; 24 2; 31 1), the single letter "ת" (34 6) written in the Qumran Cryptic A script, and the papyrus material on which the text was written are all examples of what Emanuel Tov argues to be a characteristics of a Qumran scribal school. These criteria cannot prove Qumran authorship, but only that the document was copied at Qumran.[64]

The calendar adopted in 4Q503 is not much help either. There are no indications of special festivals or celebrations unique to the community

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[64] E. Tov argues that one can detect a distinct Qumran scribal school within the Dead Sea Scrolls, and has developed a set of criteria to determine if a document was copied or created by this school. He suggests that scribal markings, such as single Cryptic Script A letters written in the margin, guide dots/strokes or lack of, single paleo-Hebrew letters written in the margin, a paleo-Hebrew *waw* to open or close a paragraph, and a sign resembling an X, are criteria (among others) that can be used to determine if a text was written by the Qumran scribal school. Cf. E. Tov, "The Biblical Scrolls Found in the Judaean Desert and Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39 (1988): 5–37; idem, "Scribal Markings in the Texts from the Judean Desert," in *Current Research and Technological Developments On the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. Parry and S. Ricks; STJD 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 42–77, esp. 56–61; idem, "Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls," *Textus* 13 (1986): 31–57; idem, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STJD 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 277ff., 337ff. Regarding the Qumran practice of writing on papyrus, cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 44–53, esp. 49, where, in his survey of papyri texts from the Dead Sea region, he notes that the use of papyri as a writing material for literary and liturgical texts within the Qumran corpus is unusual and argues that this also points to a distinct scribal school; the use of papyrus in the Dead Sea region was usually for such things as documentary texts and receipts, but not literary works. (Out of the thirty-five opisthographs found at Qumran most are on papyri; six are found on leather. Cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 295–7.)

(such as the Wood [11QTemple XXIII 03–XXV 01] or the Oil festival [11QTemple XXI 12–XXIII 02]), and the calendar is well-known already from the Enochic *Astronomical Book*. Clearly this tradition of calendrical reckoning was already well-established, and while it may have been used exclusively by the Qumran community, its existence outside this circle (i.e. *Astronomical Book*) makes it unusable to determine the text's provenance.

One area related to calendar in need of further exploration that could potentially shed some light on the question of provenance is whether the Qumran community developed a cosmogony in which the moon was created 'full,' rather than 'new.' A number of scholars, such as Milik, VanderKam, and Abegg, have suggested that the Qumran community thought the lunar cycle commenced with a full moon on the fourth day of creation, rather than the usual view that the moon was created 'new' (i.e. completely dark).[65] The strongest evidence for this hypothesis comes from the calendarical (and sectarian) text 4Q320 1 i 1–3, which states:

1]להראותה מן המזרח
2]ל[א]יהה[ב]מחצית השמים ביסוד
3 [הבריא]ה מערב עד בוקר ב////[66] בשבת[67]
4 [בניג]מול לחודש הרישון בשנה
5 [הרישו]נה

1 [. . .] to display itself from the East
2]to [sh]ine [in] the center of the heavens at the base of the [va]ult of
3 creation from evening to morning on the 4th (Wednesday) of the week of
4 [the sons of Ga]mul, in the first month of the [fi]rst
5 year.[68]

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[65] J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell; London: SCM Press, 1959), 152, n. 5; VanderKam, "Calendrical Texts," 371–86; idem, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 79, 111; Abegg, "Does Anyone Really Know What Time It Is?" 396–406. However, see arguments against this position in M. Wise, "Second Thoughts on דוק and the Qumran Synchronistic Calendars," in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder* (ed. J. Reeves and J. Kampen; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 98–120; S. Talmon, *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* (DJD XXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 46–7.

[66] Numerals in this document are designated by symbols. A slanted stroke stands for the value of 'one.' Cf. DJD XXI, 42.

[67] Talmon notes that בשבת refers to a group of 7 days, not the seventh day of the week (DJD XXI, 45).

[68] Translation from DJD XXI.

Scholars that argue that the Qumran community thought the moon was created 'full' suggest that the unknown luminary displaying itself from the east and shining in the center of the sky, from evening until morning, is the moon. The reference to the fourth day of the week and the first month of the first year refers to the first Wednesday of the month of Nisan, the beginning of the vernal new year, which was also the day that the sun, moon, and stars were created during the week of creation. If the hypothesis were correct we would be forced to argue that the lunar cosmogony of 4Q503, which understands the moon to be created 'new,' is at odds with the Qumran system, and thus 4Q503 is likely of a non-sectarian or non-exclusive provenance.

The interpretation that 4Q320 1 i 1–3 refers to the moon is theoretically possible, but unlikely. The phrase מחצית השמים[ב] (line 2) is never used to describe the moon but is sometimes used with reference to the sun, perhaps the sun's zenith (see Sir 43:3: הצהירו ירתיח). The verb "to shine" להאיר (line 2) therefore would refer to the sun rising in the east (cf. line 1), and lines 3–4 could could refer to the moon, or stars, or perhaps both.[69] If this is correct, then the calendrical systems of 4Q320 and 4Q503 are likely not only the same, but are also of a broader setting (evinced in *Astronomical Book*) and are unhelpful in the sectarian/non-sectarian question.

Since the scribal practices and the calendar of 4Q503 cannot be used as criteria to determine the question of provenance, one is restricted to analyzing the document's literary and ideological characteristics. Based on these criteria, the scholars that posit a non-sectarian provenance argue that, a) the characteristics usually taken as sectarian benchmarks, such as distinct vocabulary or thought (e.g. יחד, מורה הצדק), are absent, and b), the practice of praying at sunrise and sunset is already widely known from a variety of texts in the Second Temple period.[70] In what follows,

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[69] Talmon has also discussed this possibility in DJD XXI, 46, and argues that the intercalation between lunar and solar days in 4Q320 1 i 6 requires that the lunar cycle begin with a 'new' moon: "[on the 5th (day) in Jed]ʿiah at (or: coinciding with) the 29th day of the lunar month), on the 30th in it (the first solar month)." That is, the first day of the solar calendar is 'day one,' but the moon on 'day one' of the solar calendar is eclipsed, and thus counted as 'day zero' in the lunar cycle. This particular method of intercalation in 4Q320 is identical to both the *Astronomical Enoch* and 4Q503 and cannot work unless the lunar cycle begins with the new moon.

[70] Cf. Chazon, "The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts," 225; Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 66, suggests that 4Q503 may have originated in priestly circles in the Jerusalem because it lacks any distinct "Qumranic language or theology." The presence of the Tetragrammaton in the Dead Sea Scrolls is usually taken to indicate non-sectarian provenance.

I will argue that, while some of the distinct vocabulary may not have been used exclusively in sectarian manuscripts, it nonetheless resonates closely with the Qumran sect. I will also propose that even though prayer in the morning and evening was not a practice unique to the Qumran community, a close analysis of the reasons regarding *why* prayer took place at these times (i.e. to praise God together with the angels) is consistent with the sectarian purview of the Qumran community.

a) *Vocabulary*. In an early study of 4Q503, J. Baumgarten argued that there are some distinct parallels in 4Q503 to other sectarian manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scrolls that may allude to a compositional setting early in the life of the Qumran community.[71] The phrase "festivals of his glory" (מועדי כ[בודו]; 1–3 13; 4 4) for example, is found in CD III 14–15, 4Q508 13 2, and 4Q286 1 ii 10. The word "lots" (גורלות; 39 2; 51–55 2, 14; 76 4) is found in 1QH^a XV 37, 1QS IV 26, 1Q35 1 8, 4Q440 1 2, and 4Q511 2 i 8, although in the latter documents it is used to distinguish between the two camps of good and evil. The phrases "dominion of light" (בממשל אור; e.g. 15–16 6) and "dominion of darkness" (ממשל ח֯[ושך; e.g. frg. 33 i-34 19), are often found throughout the sectarian manuscripts (cf. for example 1QS X 1–3; 1QH^a IX 13; XX 7–8; 1QM XIII 11).

To this list of terms we can also add בנ֯י צדק ("sons of righteousness"), which occurs in a morning blessing: "]Blessed is the God of Isr[ael, God of

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The absence of the Tetragrammaton, a characteristic of 4Q503, is an important benchmark, although such a criterion is much more useful when expressed positively; that is, the presence of the Tetragrammaton may indicate non-sectarian status but its absence is less telling. For the distinction between sectarian and non-sectarian provenance in Qumran literature, see such works as C. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. W. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. Freedman; Biblical and Judaic Studies 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87; D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (ed. D. Dimant and L. Schiffman; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58, eadem, "Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the Apocryphon of Joshua," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (ed. E. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105–34; eadem, "Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence and Usage of a Taxonomy," *RevQ* 24 (2009): 7–18; eadem, "The Vocabulary of the Qumran Sectarian Texts," in *Qumran und die Archäologie: Texte und Kontexte* (ed. J. Frey, C. Claussen, and N. Kessler; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 347–95. For a discussion of the problem of provenance with respect to prayer material, see E. Schuller, "Prayer, Hymnic and Liturgical Texts from Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1994), 170.

[71] Baumgarten, "4Q503 (Daily Prayers)," 403.

all the hosts of angel]s, who are wi[th] the sons of righteousness . . .” (4Q503 48 7–8). This term is used frequently in Qumran sectarian texts to distinguish those who are in the dominion of light against those in the dominion of darkness. See for example, 1QS III 20, 22 and 1QM XIII 10 where the text declares that the sons of righteousness and spirits of truth are within the dominion of the Prince of Light (1QS=שר אותים; 1QM=שר מאור).[72] Another term בנֵי בריתכה (“sons of your covenant”) in frg. 7–9 3 may be significant, as this formulation is not found in the Hebrew Bible but it does occur in 1QM XVII 8, 4Q501 1 2, and 4Q511 63–64 ii 5. The frequency of these terms at Qumran and their relatively infrequent usage in non-Qumranic Second Temple texts suggests that such titles had some significance for the Qumran community.[73]

In addition to this vocabulary, there are significant parallels between the liturgical formulae in 4Q503 and in other sectarian documents from Qumran, such as 4Q502 *Ritual of Marriage*, 4Q414 *Baptismal Liturgies*, 4Q512 *Ritual of Purification*, and 1QM *War Scroll*. Falk has argued at length that the blessing forms in these texts are distinct and indicate a similar origin.[74] 4Q284 *Purification Rule* contains the same liturgical forms and should be added to this group of texts. The liturgical formula includes, 1) a statement preceding the prayer that describes the occasion, ending usually with a prescription to recite a blessing (יברך or יברכו),

[72] See also the link between light and the sons of justice in 1QM I 8: “And the sons of justice (בני צדק) will shine in all the edges of the earth, they shall go on illuminating, up to the end of all the periods of darkness; and in the time of God, his exalted greatness will shine for all the [eternal] times, for peace and blessing, glory and joy, and long days for all the sons of light.” See also 4Q424 3 10 (*Sapential Work C*) for the title “sons of righteousness.” בני הצדוק is found in 4QS^{e} III 10 and 11Q13 II 24. See Baumgarten’s article, “The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of *Sedeq*,” 219–39.

[73] “Sons of Righteousness” does not occur in the Hebrew Bible, although its cognate בני צדוק occurs in Ezek 40:46; 43:19; 44:15; 48:11; Sir 51:12. In the Dead Sea Scrolls בני צדוק appears in such texts as: CD IV 1; 1QS V 2; IX 14; 1QSa I 2, 24; II 3; 1QSb III 23; 4Q163 23 3; and 4Q174 III 17. It is possible that the two titles בני צדוק and בני צדק are functionally different where בני צדוק refers to a particular priestly group and בני צדק to the collective group; however, as Baumgarten suggests, it seems likely that the two forms are closely associated with each other without much differentiation. Cf. Baumgarten, “The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of *Sedeq*,” 235.

[74] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 23–9; R. Sarason supports Falk’s analysis of 4Q503’s provenance in “Communal Prayer at Qumran and Among the Rabbis: Certainties and Uncertainties,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January 2000* (ed. E. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 158, and Dimant, “The Vocabulary of the Qumran Sectarian Texts,” 389.

2) the speech formula directing those praying (ועונו ואמרו or וענה ואמר), and 3) a blessing that follows the same pattern: ברוך אל ישראל or ברוך אתה אל ישראל.[75] The use of the divine epithet אל and אל ישראל in this blessing form is common in the sectarian Qumran documents and has no true biblical antecedents.[76]

In addition, we see that the phrase בכול מועדי עולמים in the last part of the blessing in 4Q503 64 8 "Blessed is the God of Israel in all appointed times forever" (]ברוך אל ישראל בכול מ[ו]עֲ[ד]ֵי עֹולָמים) parallels other Qumran sectarian documents. 4Q491 11 ii 18 (*War Scroll*) contains the same phrase (partially restored) in a concluding blessing, (שלום [לי]שראל בכול מועדי עולמים), and in 1QM XIV 13–14 God is exalted (נרוממה) continually for his mighty works both day and night, morning and evening (נהללה שמכה . . . [בכול] עתים ומועדי תעודות עולמים עם מ[בו]א יומם ולילה ומוצאי ערב ובוקר). See also the similar phrase at 1QM XII 3, XIV 18 (בכול מועדי עולמים), and 4Q511 35 7–8 (עולמים] [מ]ועדי [לכול]). Given that the cluster of distinct vocabulary and liturgical forms in 4Q503 is shared with a number of other sectarian texts from the scrolls, it is likely that the document is sectarian or from an associated milieu.

b) *Praying at Sunrise and in the Evening*. While the practice of praying at sunrise and sunset is not uniquely sectarian, I suggest that the human-angelic worship motif in 4Q503 (see section 3.2.5.) fits well with the community's self-understanding of its prayer practices at these times, particularly the pursuit of the angelic life. The community understood itself to be part of a divinely predetermined plan, predicated on the existence of opposing realms of light and darkness (cf. 1QS III). As part of the realm of light, the community was preparing to overcome the realm of darkness in a final eschatological battle, thus ushering in a new age. The community was not alone in its struggle, but shared this experience of dualism with

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[75] Cf. 4Q502 6–10 3; 19 6; 24 2; 30 3; 104 3; 4Q414 2–4 6; 13 8; 21 1; 27–28 2; 29 2; 31 2; 4Q284 2 5; 4 33; 7 1; 4Q512 29–32 1, 8, 21; 42–44 3; 48–50 2; 51–55 8; 1QM XIII 3; XIV 4. This formula occurs (or can be restored) 29 times throughout 4Q503. The formula ברוך אתה אל ישראל is found in 4Q503 40–41 6 and 33–34 20. See E. Schuller, "Some Observations on the Blessings of God in Texts from Qumran," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. H. Attridge, J. Collins, and T. Tobin; Lanham, NY: University Press of America, 1990), 139–40; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 21–9.

[76] The epithet אל ישראל appears in Ps 68:36, Jdt 13:7, Bar 2:11 3:1, 4, and Luke 1:68. אלוהים, which is an exception to the more usual אל, occurs twice in 4Q503 13 1 ("God of lights") and 37–38 14 ("God of all the holy ones").

divine angels.[77] These beliefs were not abstract or theoretical, but were part of a dynamic and meaningful worldview in which angels played a major role. The community not only believed in, and had fellowship with, angels, but its members also aspired to an angelic way of life where the ontological distinctions between what is human and what is angelic became blurred (cf. 1QS XI 8). In 1QH^a XIX 14–17, for example, the speaker boldly places himself amongst angels in the heavenly realm. He is

> United with the children of your truth and in the lot with your holy ones, so that a corpse infesting maggot might be raised up from the dust to the council of [your] t[ruth], and from a spirit of perversion to the understanding which comes from you, and so that he may take (his) place before you with the everlasting host and the [eternal] spirit[s], and so that he may be renewed together with all that i[s] and will be and with those who have knowledge in a common rejoicing. (DJD XL)

In a provocative article exploring the relationship between the Qumran community members and the angelic world, Devorah Dimant has suggested that the heavenly and earthly realms coalesced because the community mirrored their own practices on what they perceived to be happening in the divine heavenly realm. Hence, the community's own activities functioned "analogically to a community of priestly angels officiating in the innermost sanctuary of the heavenly temple."[78] Dimant's perspective may shed some light on the motives for some of the community's more peculiar practices, such as the "sharing of property, some form of celibacy, strict hierarchy, and exclusivity."[79]

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[77] J. Collins, "Powers in Heaven: God, Gods, and Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Collins and R. Kugler; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 9–28; idem, "The Angelic Life," in *Metamorphoses: Ressurection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity* (ed. T. Karlsen Seim and J. Økland; Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 291–310.

[78] Dimant, "Men as Angels," 100–1; see also C. Newsom, "He Established For Himself Priests: Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Shabbat Shirot," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 101–20. Also see the recent article by J. Collins, "The Angelic Life," 291–310. Collins writes that, "togetherness with angels is constitutive of the community on earth" (p. 297). We see the emulation of angelic worship also in *Jubilees*, although *Jubilees* does not describe daily prayer. Angels in *Jub.* 6:18–19 celebrated the Festival of Weeks and kept the Sabbath since the creation of the world (*Jub.* 2:17–33). See Rietz, "Synchronizing Worship," 111–8.

[79] Dimant, "Men as Angels," 100–1. For a text alluding to celibate angels see Mark 12:25.

One might argue that some of these peculiar practices are nothing more than a projection of the Qumran community's own system of Judaism onto the heavenly realm, presented as the *way of perfection* (1QS VIII 18; IX 9). It is possible, however, that the community's desire to mirror the angelic system may have created, or at least helped to create, new religious practices, and I would argue that this desire provided a motive and pattern for fixed daily prayer based on the luminary cycles. Through observing specific times of angelic worship based on the movements of the heavenly luminaries, the Qumran community, in an effort to mimic the heavenly realm, identified these times of cosmological changes as times of worship.

Praying at these times arguably created a specific religious experience that was multi-dimensional. Not only did the community witness the cyclical movements of the cosmos as they prayed, but in making such observations they witnessed the coming and going of their angelic counterparts in the skies above. For a community that defined themselves as "sons of light" (1QM I 1, 2; 1QS I 9; III 13) and "sons of the dawn" (CD XIII 14–15) becoming united in daily worship with the angelic "troops of light" (4Q503 7–9 3–4; 10 2) would have created a rich and dynamic religious experience. And to a community deeply dichotomized by the realm of light and darkness, the incorporation of natural tangible light and darkness into their religious worship further fortified their beliefs. In 1Q*Mysteries* (1Q27 1 5), we catch a glimpse of just how the community experienced daily the cosmological changes from darkness to light: "as darkness disappears before the light, so will evil vanish forever, justice will be revealed like the sun."

The concern to worship with angels is not uniquely sectarian. Yet, in this chapter we have seen the degree to which the coordination of human and angelic worship in 4Q503 aligns with the more general concern for human-angelic worship in the Qumran community, as is most clearly evinced in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, but also in such documents as the *Hodayot* and *Berakhot*. Moreover, absent in the system of worship depicted in these texts is any explicit reference to replacing cultic sacrifice through the act of fixed daily prayer. Instead, the goal of this system was the emulation of angelic beings. Since angels did not perform blood sacrifices in the heavens, perhaps this desire to mimic the heavenly world provided further justification (aside from viewing the Jerusalem temple as defiled; e.g. CD V 6; XX 23; 1QpHab XII 9) for the Qumran community to forego temple sacrifice, and to concentrate on a system of liturgy patterned upon the luminary cycles.

4. 4Q408

The second text I will discuss, 4Q408, was originally named 4Q*Sapiential Work* because of the prevalence of wisdom and creation themes (cf. frg. 3 + 3a).[80] 4Q408 has since been renamed 4Q*Apocryphon of Moses*^{c}*?* as it appears to be a copy of a work also represented in 1Q29 (*Liturgie des trois langues de feu*) and 4Q376 (*Apocryphon of Moses*^{b}*?*).[81] No textual overlap has been found with 4Q375 (*Apocryphon of Moses*^{a}) although there are many thematic similarities.[82]

In her preliminary edition of this work, A. Steudel argued that this text is a liturgy for morning and evening.[83] She is certainly correct that this text contains a liturgical prayer. In light of the overlaps with 1Q29 and 4Q376, however, it may be that while 4Q408 3 + 3a describes daily prayer (unlike 4Q503 which prescribes daily prayer) based on luminary cycles,[84] the broader context of the document is not a daily liturgy *per se*. 4Q408 11, for example, parallels 1Q29 1 and 4Q376 1 ii, which may refer to the use of the Urim and Thummim to identify a false prophet and to decide military strategy.[85] Since, however, much of the manuscript has decayed, the relationship between the rituals utilizing the Urim and Thummim and the prayer described in frag. 3 + 3a 5–11 is not known and left to speculation. Our purpose here is not to solve this puzzle, but to analyze the description of daily prayer based on the cycle of heavenly luminaries.[86]

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[80] A. Steudel dates 4Q408 to an early stage in the Hasmonean period. See A. Steudel, "408. 4QApocryphon of Moses^{c}? (Pl. XXI)," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts, Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S. Pfann and P. Alexander; DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon 2000), 301.

[81] Cf. 4Q408 2 1–4//1Q29 3–4; 4Q408 11//1Q29 1, 4Q376 1 ii.

[82] A. Steudel, DJD XXXVI, 298–315. J. Strugnell discusses the relationship between 4Q376, 1Q29, and 4Q375 in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (ed. M. Broshi et al; DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 129ff. It is interesting to note that Josephus' *Ant.* 3.214–8 contains many of same concerns as 1Q29 and 4Q376, including the use of the stones of the high priestly garment to discern false prophets and military strategy.

[83] A. Steudel, "4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer—Preliminary Edition," *RevQ* 16 (1994): 331. Also see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 96–7.

[84] Other fragments in 4Q408 contain words indicative of a context describing morning and evening although we do not know if the context pertains to prayer: 4 2 ולבקר]ל[; 5 1]מוצ[א 6 2; הב]קר אות[; 7 1]ב[ערב בע]רּ.

[85] Cf. DJD XXXVI, 313; DJD XIX, 124–5.

[86] It is tempting to suggest that the language of illumination in 4Q408 3 + 3a 5–11 (esp. heavenly light [אור]) at 4Q408 3 + 3a 8, 9) is somehow connected to the Urim and Thummim rituals in 4Q408 11, 1Q29, and 4Q376. Although we do not know exactly how the Urim and Thummim were imbued with divine power, one wonders if this could have been accomplished through exposure to the heavenly luminaries. The practice of exposing stones to the irradiation of the stars for magical purposes is documented in Babylonian tradition (see Reiner, *Astral Magic*, 128).

Frg. 3 + 3a 5–11 is the most important section for our purposes and is provided below:[87]

5	[ב]הופיע פארי כבדו מזבול קד[ש	י]ענו כל
6a	]אתה אדני [ ] ב [ ]	
6	[ישראל בר]וך {יהוה} [ה]צדיק בכל דרכיך ה[ג]בר כח ה[סיד במש]פטיך הנאמן	
7	בכ[ל פקודיך] המבין בכל ש[כל ב]כל גבורה הנחה להוצי את[	]ל[ ]
8	אשר ברתה את הבקר אות להופיע ממשלת אור לגבול יומם בר[	]
9	לעבדתם לברך את שם קדשך בראתם כי טוב האור וב[הכירם]כי בכול[	]
10	ל[○○○○ מתים אשר בר[ת]ה את הערב אות להופיע ממשלת[חושך לגבול לילה]	
11	[ ]○ מעמל לברך [את שם קדשך ב]ראתם[ ]כל[י טו]בים[כו]ל[כוכבים	]

5. [When] the ornaments of His glory shine out from the hol[y] abode [will]answer all
6. [Israel Bles]sed {(is) YH}WH be You, O Lord, [who] are righteous in all your ways, who (are) [st]rong with force, who (are) k[ind in] your [judg]ments, who (are) trustworthy
7. in a[ll your perceptible precepts,] who (are) wise with a[ll in]sight, who (are) shaking off [with]all(?) strength, who guide, to cause to rise the [ ]
8. that is You have created the morning as a sign causing the appearance of the dominion of light for the area of the day at the fi[rmament of the heavens/at the be[ginning]
9. for their work in order to bless your holy name when they see that the light is good and when[they recognized] that in all[ ]
10. [ ]men that is [You] have created the evening as a sign causing the appearance of the dominion[of darkness for the area of night]
11. [ ]after the work in order to bless [Your holy name, when] they see th[at go]od [are al]l[the stars]

4.1. *Times of Prayer*

As in 4Q503, 4Q408 3 + 3a 5 contains a description of the exchange of the heavenly lights that precedes the body of the prayer: "[When] the ornaments of His glory shine out from the hol[y] abode . . . [will]answer all [Israel Bles]sed {(is) YH}WH be You, O Lord . . ."[88] Like 4Q503, this description indicates, by way of the third person plural]יענו כל, that this prayer

[87] For the transcription and translation see DJD XXXVI, 304–5, 6.

[88] The word א]מוצ in frg. 6 2 may be significant as it occurs in prescriptions for times of prayer in 1QS X 10, 14; 1QH^a XX 8–10; and 1QM XIV 14.

is communal.[89] It is the descriptions of the times of prayer within the actual body of the liturgy that explicitly designate the appearance of the morning (הבקר אות) and evening as a sign (הערב אות) for times of prayer, thus linking these times to "when the ornaments of his glory appear from the holy abode."

Also of note are the thematic parallels in 4Q408 to Genesis 1 (esp. 1:14), again reaffirming the coordination of the prayer with the cycles of the luminaries established by God at creation. The prayer recounts God's creation of the "morning as a sign," and when they see that the "light is good" they are to bless God's holy name. In the evening too, they are to bless God's holy name in response to the light of the heavenly luminaries (l. 10 states: הערב אות להופיע ממשלת[חושך).

In addition to the allusions to the heavenly lights in Genesis 1, there may be an allusion in 4Q408 3 + 3a 9 (לעבדתם) to the daily routine of creation as laid out in Ps 104, particularly v. 23: "People go out to their work and to their labor until the evening" (יצא אדם לפעלו ולעבדתו עדי ערב).[90] As in 4Q503, daily prayer in this text is contingent upon the cycle of heavenly luminaries; 4Q408 also demonstrates that the routine of human activity falls within that cycle.

4.2. *Prayer with Angels*

In line 9 we find the phrase "when they see that the light is good." Baumgarten has suggested that this phrase describes "men's perception of the light of dawn, which is not only 'sweet' (cf. Qoh 11:7) aesthetically, but in Qumran-Essene theology is symbolic of divine righteousness."[91] Given the thematic links with Genesis 1, however, it seems better to interpret this as alluding to the light of creation, which was also deemed "good." In a number of Second Temple period sources we learn that the angels, after witnessing the "good" light of creation, burst forth in praise (cf. *Jub.* 2:2–3; 11QPs[a] XXVI 11–12; Sir 42:16–17; see also note 39).

I suggest that those who bless God in 4Q408 do so as a proper response to seeing that the light is good, and that in doing so they emulate the

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[89] In DJD XXXVI, 307, Steudel lists a number of biblical parallels: Deut 27:15 (ויענו כל העם); Ezra 10:12 (ויענו כל הקהל); Neh 8:6 (ויענו כל העם).

[90] The word מוצא in frg. 6 2 may relate to Ps 104:23. For the use of Genesis 1 in Psalm 104 see A. Berlin, "The Wisdom of Creation in Psalm 104," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. R. Troxel, K. Friebel, and D. Magary; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 71–83.

[91] J. Baumgarten, "Some Notes on *4Q408*," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 144.

angelic practice of praising God when seeing the light that was established at the time of creation. This coordination between the praises of heaven and earth is alluded to in line 5, which indicates that only "[When] the ornaments of his glory appear from the hol[y] abode (מזבול קדֳ[ש]) [...] they will answer (i.e. bless God)." The term מזבול קדֳ[ש] in this context refers clearly to God's heavenly dwelling (cf. Isa 63:15; 4Q403 1 i 41, 4Q405 6 2 and 81 2), and given the strong connection between luminaries and angels, both of which reside in this dwelling,[92] I suggest the appearance of the luminaries (l. 5: ב]הפיע פארי כבדו) signals to the earthly worshippers that the angels in the heavenly temple have commenced with liturgical worship and that they can join the heavenly praise.[93]

4.3. *Provenance*

As with 4Q503, it is difficult to determine the provenance of 4Q408 and hence its broader implications for our understanding of the development of daily prayer. In frag. 3 + 3a 3 we read the phrase, "God of Israel He is the creator for the community/He created for the community (אֹ]ל ישראל ברא הוא ליחד[ה])," which immediately brings to mind the self-designation of the Qumran group (יחד). This text also has a number of thematic and verbal similarities with 1QS X 1–3, 1QH^a XX 4–7, and 4Q503 (1–3 3; 15–16 6; 33–34 19; 37–38 16), including such phrases as "dominion of light" (l. 8: ממשלת אור) and "dominion of] darkness" (l. 10: חושך] ממשלת). In addition, both 4Q503 and 4Q408 contain the same directives to pray: "And they will answer."[94] In line 5 we read [...] ב]הפיע פארי כבדו מזבול קדש יענו כל which is nearly identical to the phrase describing the time for evening prayer in 1QS X 2–3: ...באופיע מאורות מזבול קודש עם האספם למעון כבוד (פארי = מאורות).

It may be telling that the Tetragrammaton in the blessing formula in 4Q408 3 6 is corrected from בר]וך יהוה to read אתה אדני בר]וך, a formula not found in the Hebrew Bible but prevalent in such Qumran texts as the *Hodayot*.[95] Steudel sought to explain this correction in her prelimi-

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[92] For further discussion of the connection between angels and luminaries, see in Chapter Five.

[93] Cf. also Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 66.

[94] 4Q503 repeatedly uses the phrase וענו ואמרו within the directive to pray. In 4Q408 frag. 3 + 3a 5, we read a slightly different formula, although in 4Q408 16 2 we have the letters מרו[, which could be constructed as וענו ואמרו.

[95] Cf. 1QH^a V 15 [partially reconstr.]; VI 19 [partially reconstr.]; VIII 26; XIII 22; XVII 38 [reconstr.]; XVIII 16; XIX 30, 35–36. For the blessing formula ברוך אתה יהוה, see 1 Chr 29:10 and Ps 119:12.

nary edition by suggesting that here the scribe erroneously "fell back into the style of the biblical Psalms, but upon realizing that the *Vorlage* had a different blessing formula, he changed it." Despite the occurrence of the Tetragrammaton in this document, Steudel still thought that this text was sectarian in provenance and argued that it was probably written very early in the Essene movement.[96]

The Tetragrammaton, however, occurs uncorrected in 4Q408 2 1 (=1Q29 3–4 2) and 4Q408 2 3 (partially reconstructed). We also find the Tetragrammaton in 1Q29 1 7, 4Q375 1 i 2, and 4Q375 1 ii 8. Its existence in these other places casts some doubt on Steudel's original argument about the document's provenance, as sectarian texts from Qumran typically avoided the divine name.[97] Perhaps this text originated prior to the establishment of the community, but the corrected blessing could indicate an effort to align the formula to be consistent with what they deemed appropriate for a liturgical context.[98] Moreover, since it is widely agreed that the hymn at the 1QS X–XI was appended to the core document at a later time, it is likely that the phrase in 1QS X 3, [ב]הפיע פארי כבדו מזבול יענו כל [...] קדש, was interpolated from 4Q408 3 + 3a 5, which provides further weight to a pre-sectarian or early date of 4Q408.

5. Conclusions

We have argued in the above discussion that 4Q503 and 4Q408 reflect a pattern of prayer based on the cycle of the luminaries. The impetus for developing such a pattern is twofold: 1) The regularity and predictability of the cycles of the luminaries are easily adopted for calendrical purposes; this type of 'cosmic clock' was attractive to the Qumran community because of their concern for following perfectly God's divine law of time. 2) The belief in the coalescence of celestial beings with the luminaries provided further impetus for the Qumran community as the luminaries modeled a tangible system for coordinating their own worship practices with the heavenly angels. The appearance of the sun at sunrise and the moon and stars at night signaled to the community the appropriate times in which they could coordinate their praises to God with angels.

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96 Steudel, "4Q408," 333.

97 See Newsom, " 'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," 182–3.

98 Regarding the issue of provenance, Strugnell writes: "In such a Mosaic pseudepigraphon, the use (twice) of the Tetragrammaton need not surprise us. (One can alternatively note that its use is not infrequent in those works that may be of pre-Qumran composition.)" Cf. DJD XIX, 118.

A number of scholars have argued that joint worship between humans and angels in the morning and evening was, in addition to the coordination with the luminary cycles, guided by the sacrificial calendar;[99] both sacrificial and cosmological times are inextricably linked and thus essentially the same time. As we have seen in Chapter One, in some cases, especially in the Hebrew Bible (Ezra 9:1; Ps 141:2, Dan 9:1; cf. also Acts 3:1), but also in the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QPs[a]), there are some examples where prayer is correlated with the time of the tamid sacrifice and described with sacrificial terminology. I argue, however, that this particular line of reasoning, i.e. prayer=sacrifice, misconstrues the main thrust of what the pattern of fixed daily prayer discussed in this chapter is meant to accomplish, which is joint praise with humans and angels. There is nothing mentioned in either 4Q503 or 4Q408 regarding sacrifice and the effect that a sacrificial act achieves (i.e. atonement), nor is sacrificial language used to describe prayer. If we allow the most salient features of these texts to guide us—the coordination of human-angelic blessing with astronomical movements—a more plausible explanation of this prayer pattern emerges. The community understood the appearance of the heavenly luminaries to be angels appearing from their heavenly abode to sing praises of God's glory. The appearance of these luminaries provided tangible evidence that the community was in fact coordinating their worship service with the heavenly realm. The impetus for this practice, to mirror the angelic life, is based on the larger religious system of the Qumran community, which was developed to achieve unity with angels in the heavens above. The claim that the time of sacrifice was not the focus of these worshippers is further strengthened in light of the fact that only the praises of the angels were offered in the celestial temple.

[99] E.g. Chazon, "When Did They Pray?" 51; L. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. Levine; Philadelphia, PA: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987), 39–40.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LITURGICAL CALENDAR AT 1QH^a XX 7–14A AND 1QS IX 26B–X 8A

1. Introduction

In the previous three chapters, I have discussed prayer in a broad array of biblical and Second Temple period texts. In this chapter I will examine the one explicit prayer calendar that we have from the Second Temple period, found in two Qumran sectarian documents, the *Hodayot* (1QH^a XX 7–14a) and the *Community Rule* (1QS IX 26b–X 8a).[1] This calendar is based on the same pattern that I examined in Chapter Three, "Luminary Cycles and Daily Prayer;" its essential feature is the poetic description of the cyclical movements of the heavenly luminaries—something like a 'solar clock'—from which daily, seasonal, and annual units of time were measured and calculated. The community organized their liturgical cycle accordingly into an aggregate list of prayer times. Unlike the texts that I examined in the previous chapters, however, I will demonstrate that the basic diurnal pattern of prayer in the morning and evening was adapted and expanded within the religious life of the community that settled at Qumran as evinced in the calendar at 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a. Although the vocabulary and the poetic descriptions of when one ought

[1] Talmon designated the passages at 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS 26b-X 8a as a 'Hymn of Appointed Times.' The poetic qualities of both these passages are certainly characteristic of a hymn, but the calendar, both in 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS 26b-X 8a, functions somewhat autonomously from the surrounding context, and it is not clear whether it is meant to be read as part of the hymn in the subsequent lines, or whether is it a preamble. Given this uncertainty I will refer to the passages at 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS 26b-X 8a only as a calendar. See S. Talmon, "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judaean Desert," *RevQ* 2 (1959–60): 475–500; idem, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in the Light of Qumran Literature," in *Qumran: Sa piété, sa théologie, et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; Paris: Leuven Univeristy Press, 1978), 265–84, repr. in *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 200–43.

The purpose of a calendar is to organize, measure, and coordinate some of the more irregular sequences and sets of processes, the propitious and unpropitious times, in human experience and social life. For this reason, the term calendar is used to describe the text at 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a, as the central feature of both of these texts is the coordination of prayer with the fixed, cyclical patterns of the heavenly cosmos. For a more discussion of calendars, see S. Stern, *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003), 59–60.

to pray vary between each of the calendars, the pattern of the daily times of prayer remains identical.

Because this calendar is the only one we have from the Second Temple period (except perhaps 4Q334), it is worth careful and full consideration. One of the most disputed questions in scholarship about this calendar is the number of prayer times listed for the daily cycle. While it is almost universally accepted that both texts at 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS 26b-X 8a describe times for prayer,[2] the poetic and seemingly imprecise language of the calendar has left scholars divided about the exact enumeration of fixed prayer times. As a result, we find arguments in the scholarly discussion that the calendar lists prayer twice daily (at sunrise and sunset), three times daily (morning, noon, evening), and even six times daily (morning × 2, midday, evening × 2, midnight; see bibliography below).

One reason why scholarly opinions diverge considerably on this issue is because the calendar is sometimes harmonized with descriptions of daily prayer patterns found in other texts (e.g. 4Q503) without first adequately treating the calendar's many literary complexities. A comparative treatment of the calendar at 1QH^a XX 7–10 and 1QS X 1–3 with other patterns of daily prayer is certainly important (I have strategically left the discussion of this calendar for Chapter Four for this very purpose, as the previous chapters will help alert us to a fuller range of interpretive possibilities for 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS 26b-X 8a). In my view, however, before such work can take place, we must first examine closely the form, vocabulary, and literary style of the calendar in both 1QH^a and 1QS.

In this chapter, therefore, I will bracket initially what we know about daily prayer from other texts and pay close attention only to the descriptions of the daily cycle in this calendar, as it clearly demonstrates that times of prayer were coordinated with specific and easily observable moments during the day and night. To interpret these descriptions, we must take into account both the poetry and the astronomical nomenclature that were used. While the combination of poetry and astronomy perhaps seems at odds with each other—the former an art, the latter a science—in the ancient world these two disciplines were often found

[2] Although see S. Holm-Nielsen: "There can hardly be any doubt about the preceding lines [ie. XX 7–14a] referring to times of prayer; the question is whether the reference is to definite times appointed for prayer, or whether the expressions just describe the divisions of the day in such a way that the thought is less definite, being of prayer as the continual relationship between the righteous and God. I side for the second idea, since it is difficult to understand the expressions as definite times." In S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Acta Theologica Danica 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 202, n. 28.

to be complementary; the conventions of poetry were considered apt to express the beauty of the heavens and the symmetry and regularity of the luminary cycles.[3]

A second reason why this calendar is interpreted in a variety of different ways is because scholars have tended to ignore its textual and redactional history. It is most likely that the calendar at 1QH[a] XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a was copied from a similar, perhaps even identical, *Vorlage* when redacted into its present context. When this redaction occurred, however, differences were created between the two versions in terms of vocabulary, literary structure, and some of the calendar's enumerative qualities. These redactional emendations and interpretative glosses have caused further confusion regarding the description of daily prayer times. Addressing the redactional history of the calendar in its respective contexts, therefore, will help to clarify some of these difficulties.

The aim and purpose of this chapter will therefore be to discern accurately the daily times of prayer enumerated in the calendar by first examining its poetic and astronomical character, and then by examining the redactional changes that took place when the calendar was placed in the contexts of 1QH[a] XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a. Following this, I will look at the calendar within the context of the daily life of the Qumran community. Because both texts at 1QH[a] XX 7–14a and 1QS 26b-X 8a are poetic and lack specific directives about which prayers to coordinate with these heavenly cycles, the calendar is probably more of a symbolical expression of a deeper theological *Tendenz* of the Qumran community.[4]

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[3] The ancient rhetorician Quintilian (ca. 35–100 CE) certainly thought that to read poetry adeptly one must be familiar with astronomy. A quote from Quintilian's *The Elements of Oratory* 1.4.4, while in no way connected formally to 1QH[a] XX 7–14 and 1QS 26b-X 8a, captures the approach we should have in our analysis of these texts: "nor again if he be ignorant of astronomy, can he understand the poets; for they, to give no further points, frequently give their indications of time by reference to the rising and setting of the stars" (Quintilian, *The Orator's Education* [trans. D. A. Russell; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002], 63).

[4] In a recent essay, R. Kugler has made a similar observation. He tackles the question of why the calenderical text 4QOtot, found at the end of an early version of the *Community Rule*, 4QS[e], was replaced by the hymn appended to 1QS at columns X–XI. With reference to M. Chwe's work on ritual (*Rational Ritual: Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001]), Kugler argues that the calenderical language in 1QS X–XI was included in the hymn to remind community members of 4QOtot, a calendar they already knew. See R. Kugler, "Of Calendars, Community Rules, and Common Knowledge: Understanding 4QS[e]-4QOtot, with Help from Ritual Studies," in *Methods and Theories in the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 215–28.

Nonetheless, I will argue that the authors of 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS 26b–X 8a shaped the calendar to reflect the basic sequence of actual times for prayer undertaken by the Qumran community, which on a daily basis included sunrise, midday, sunset, and midnight. Since 1QS IX 26b–X 8a appears to have been expanded and edited to the point where its poetic qualities are somewhat diminished, and since 1QH^a XX 7–14a appears less "corrupted," I will begin here.

2. 1QH^a XX 7–14A[5]

7 [<u>למשכי]ל</u>ֹ ה[<u>וֹדות</u>ֹ ותפלה להתנ֯ל והתחנן תמיד מקצ לקצ עם
<u>מבוא אור</u>
8 <u>ל</u>ֹ<u>ממשׂ]לתו</u>]בתקופות[6] יום לתכונו לחוקות מאור גדול בפנות ערב ומוצא
9 <u>אור ברשית ממשלת ח</u>ושך למועד לילה בתקופתו לפ֯ות בוקר ובקצ
10 ה֯אספו ֯למ֯ונתו מפני{ת} אור למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם תמיד בכול
11 מולדי עת <u>יסודי קצ ותקופת מועדים</u> בתכונם באותותם לכול
12 ממשלתם בתכון נאמנה מפי אל ותעודת <u>הווה והיא</u>ה תהיה
13 ואין אפס וזולתה לוא היה ולוא יהיה עוד כי אל <u>ה{ו}ד{י}עות</u>
14 <u>הב</u>ינה ואין אחר עמו *vacat*

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[5] Reconstructed portions of this text are based on 4QH^a 8 ii 10–16. and 4QH^b 12 ii 3. Parallels from 4QH^a are underlined. The double underline indicates a parallel with both 4QH^a 8 ii 10 and 4QH^b 12 ii 3. Column, line numbers, transcription, and translation (with slight adaptation) follow DJD XL, 250–60. Eight copies of the *Hodayot* have been preserved in the Qumran caves; two copies were found in cave one (1QH$^{a–b}$) and six in cave four (4QH$^{a–f}$ [4Q427–432]). The latest copies, 4QH$^{d–f}$, are dated to the last half of the first century BCE (50–1 BCE). The earliest copy, 4QH^b, is dated to roughly the first quarter of the first century BCE (100–75 BCE). While some of the manuscripts from cave four, such as 4QH^a (4Q427), demonstrate some fluidity in the organization of the hymns, the earliest copy 4QH^b corresponds to 1QH^a, which suggests that the arrangement of hymns in 1QH^a was known somewhat prior to the first century BCE. For an overview of the *Hodayot* manuscripts and the complicated history of their publication see, E. Schuller, "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *JQR* 85 (1994): 137–50; eadem, "Some Contributions of the Cave Four Manuscripts (4Q427–432) to the Study of the Hodayot," *DSD* 8 (2001): 278–87; E. Chazon et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 69–254; H. Stegemann with E. Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 4QHodayot$^{a–f}$ and 1QHodayot^b* (DJD XL; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009); E. Puech, "Hodayot," in vol. 1 of *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. Schiffman and J. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 365–9.

[6] The plural of תקופה is somewhat unusual in this line in light of its occurrence in the singular in line 9 (see also 1QS X 1: תקופתו), and in light of the singular forms of other nouns in this passage like למשמ[לתו] and לתכונו (line 8).

Translation:

7 [To the *Maski*]*l*, [th]anksgiving and prayer for prostrating oneself and supplicating continually at all times: with the coming of light
8 to [its] domin[ion]; at the midpoints of the day with respect to its arrangement according to the rules of the great luminary; at the turning of evening and the departure of
9 light; at the beginning of the dominion of darkness at the appointed time of night; at its midpoint when it turns toward morning; and at the time when
10 it is gathered in to its dwelling place before (the approach of) light, at the departure of night and the coming of day, continually, at all
11 birthings of time, at the foundations of the seasons, and the cycle of the festivals in the order fixed by their signs for all
12 their dominion in proper order, reliably, at the command of God. It is a testimony of that which exists. This is what shall be,
13 and there shall be no end. Apart from it nothing has existed nor shall yet be. For the God of knowledge
14 has established it, and there is none other with Him. *Vacat*

2.1. *The Literary Structure of 1QH[a] XX 7–10*

The structure of the calendar at 1QH[a] XX 7–14a is organized according to the progressive movements of the sun. That the author privileges the solar cycle is evident from the phrase in line 8—prayer is to be recited "in accordance with the laws of the great luminary" (לחוקות מאור גדול). The poetic description of the sun's path recalls similar language from scripture; it is particularly reminiscent of the old Šamaš hymn found in Ps 19:2–7[7] as this is the only biblical text in which תקופה is used to describe the sun's daily circuit[8] as in 1QH[a] XX 7–10.

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[7] Modern commentators often note that Ps 19:2–7 is similar to the Šamaš hymns of ancient Mesopotamia that describes the sun's mythical daily journey, traversing both the heavens and the underworld. See N. Sarna, "Psalm XIX and the Near Eastern Sun-God Literature," *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1967): 171–175. Cf. P. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* (WBC 19; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983), 181; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary* (trans. H. Oswald; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988), 268–73. For an example of a Šamaš hymns in which the daily travels of the sun are described, see E. Reiner, *Your Thwarts in Pieces, Your Mooring Rope Cut: Poetry from Babylonia and Assyria* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1985), 68–84; J. Prichard, ed., "The Hymn to Aton," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 369–71. The *Nachleben* of these Šamaš hymns emerges in apocalyptic and mystical literature of the Second Temple and Late Antique periods, in which the sun's daily movements are recounted. For examples of this trope in apocalyptic literature, see for example, *1 En.* 72–82; *2 En.* 11ff.; *3 En.* 48:8–10; *3 Bar.* 6ff.

[8] Ps 19:7 states: "It rises at one end of the heavens and makes its circuit (תקופה) to the other, and nothing is hidden from its heat." Although not as relevant as Ps 19:2–7, there

It is not clear how exactly to translate and interpret תקופה. Recently, some scholars have suggested that the word means "turning-point," or "revolving circuit," and in doing so reinforce the notion that this calendar describes daily prayer only at sunrise and sunset. (As we see in Chapters Three and Five, these two transitional points of the day were popular times for prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in other early Jewish sources.) Falk, for example (following Weise), interprets 1QH^{a} XX 7–10 in light of certain other Dead Sea Scrolls texts that he believes mention daily prayer times at sunrise and sunset (i.e. 1QM XIV 12–4 [עם מבוא יום ולילה אבואה] ;1QS X 10 [ומוצאי ערב ובוקר מ[בו]א יומם ולילה בברית אל ועם מוצא ערב ובוקר אמר חוקיו]).[9] Thus, for these scholars, תקופה marks the position of the sun that is at the opposite end of its position described in the preceding phrase. Structurally, 1QH^{a} XX 7–10 is divided as follows:[10]

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are other examples of biblical texts that resonate with 1QH^{a} XX 7–14a. Cf. Ps 65:9: "Those who live at earth's farthest bounds are awed by your signs; you make the gateways of the morning and the evening shout for joy" (וייראו ישבי קצות מאותתיך מוצאי בקר וערב תרנין); Ps 103:22: "Bless the Lord, all his works, in all places of his dominion (ממשלתו). Bless the Lord, O my soul;" Ps 113:3: "From the rising of the sun to its setting (עד מבואו) the name of the Lord is to be praised;" Ps 136:8–9: "The sun to rule over the day (את השמש לממשלת ביום) . . . the moon and stars to rule over the night" (את הירח וכוכבים לממשלות בלילה).

[9] D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 100–2, 106. See also Weise's extended discussion in, *Kultzeiten und kultischer Bundeschluss in der 'Ordensregel' vom Toten Meer* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 10–20. While the following studies focus on 1QS IX 26b–X 8a, their arguments are applicable also for 1QH^{a} XX 7–10: See P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 140; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press), 239; A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings From Qumran* (trans. G. Vermes; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1973), 232, 234, 239, n. 2; L. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Jewish Liturgy," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. Levine; Philadelphia: 1989), 35–40; B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 53, 106; E. Chazon, "When Did They Pray? Times for Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. R. A. Argall, B. A. Bow, and R. A. Werline; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 44; R. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Brill: Leiden, 2006), 114–5.

[10] Cf. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 106, especially n. 6.

	Time of day	Text	Line
a	morning	עם מבוא אור לממשלתו	7–8
b	evening	בתקופות יום לתכונו לחוקות מאור גדול	8
		בפנות ערב ומוצא אור	8–9
b	evening	ברשית ממשלת חושך למועד לילה	9
a	morning	בתקופתו לפנות בוקר	9
		ובקצ האספו אל מונתו מפני אור	10
		למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם תמיד	

morning When the light comes forth for its dominion
evening At the ends of the day according to its assigned order,
according to the laws of the great light
When evening turns and light departs,
evening At the beginning of the dominion of darkness for the period of night,
morning At its end, at the arrival of morning,
At the moment when it is gathered to its dwelling place before the light
At the departure of night and the arrival of day[11]

I see this translation to be redundant, and prefer to interpret תקופה as "middle" or "zenith." In 1QH[a] XX 7–10 תקופה is always placed between the opposite ends of the sun's daily circuit. At sunrise, the sun comes "to its domain" (ll. 7–8: מבוא אור לממש[לתו) and at sunset the "evening turns and light departs" (l. 8: בפנות ערב). תקופה does not stand appositionally to one of these two points within the daily solar circuit, but refers rather to a turning point between evening and morning—midday.[12]

[11] This translation is from Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 101 and is used here to demonstrate his interpretation of תקופה in this calendar.

[12] For example, in his commentary on 1QS, Licht translates תקופה more specifically as "middle of the day" (אמצעית היום; J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea, Text, Introduction and Commentary* [Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1965], 208). See also the translation in DJD XL, 259, in which Newsom translates בתקופות יום as "midpoints of the day," and למועד לילה בתקופתו as "at the appointed time of night; at its midpoint" (cf. DJD XXIX [4Q427], 112). Although the following scholars discuss 1QS, their arguments regarding תקופה as a midpoint between sunrise and sunset are applicable here: J. van der Ploeg, "Quelques traductions du "Manuel de discipline" des manuscripts de la Mer Morte," *BO* 9 (1952): 130; idem, "Le 'Manuel de discipline' des Rouleaux de la Mer Morte," *BO* 8 (1951): 124; G. Lambert, "Le Manuel de Discipline de la grotte de Qumran," *NRTh* 73 (1951): 971–2 ("middle of course"); T. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956), 219. Gaster parallels both 1QH[a] XX 7–10 and 1QS X 1–3 to the three daily prayer times listed in *m. Ber* 4.1. S. Hoenig, "Textual Readings and Meanings in Hodayot [1 Q H]," *JQR* 58 (1968): 313; Talmon, "The 'Manual of Benedictions,'" 481–3; idem, "Emergence," 214; R. Sarason, "Communal Prayer at Qumran and Among the Rabbis," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in*

The same tripartite balance is found in the lines describing the dominion of night in line 9. Here too, when תקופה is interpreted as describing either sunset or sunrise, a certain degree of redundancy is created. We would be forced, like Falk, to read למועד לילה together with the previous phrase ברשית ממשלת חושך ("At the beginning of the dominion of darkness for the period of night"), and then read בתקופתו together with לפנות בוקר in the next colon ("At its end, at the arrival of morning"). Rather than dividing the sentence this way, it is preferable to read the phrase למועד לילה בתקופתו as one point of time in the night between the previous phrase "... departure of light; at the beginning of the dominion of darkness" (line 8–9; i.e. sunset) and the subsequent phrase, "at the returning of morning" (line 9; i.e. sunrise). I then interpret the last line as an *inclusio* for the daily cycle: למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם תמיד. In this context תקופה is not the culmination of a 'circuit,' 'cycle', or a 'course' of time between two fixed points, but rather a fixed midpoint of time between sunrise and sunset, i.e. midday and midnight.[13] The structure of the calendar would thus be divided as follows:

Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January 2000 (ed. E. G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 157, n. 24. He concurs with Talmon and states, "I think that an innocent reading of the passages in the two hymns favors Talmon's interpretation, and that the word תקופה refers to a separate period between the two extremes of beginning and end." H. Ringgren agrees with Talmon in, *The Faith of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963), 222–3; H. Stegemann also sees this calendar as referring to prayer three times daily. He writes, "At sunrise, at midday with the sun at its zenith, and at sunset, all full members of the local groups of Essenes gathered for common prayer service," but does not argue further his position (*The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 190); J. Maier, "Shîrê ʿÔlat hash-Shabbat. Some Observations on their Calendrical Implications and on their Style," in vol. 2 of *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 549–50. See also P. Bradshaw "Prayer Morning, Noon, Evening, and Midnight—an Apostolic Custom?" *Studia Liturgica* 13 (1979): 57–62. Bradshaw argues that an antecedent to the Christian four-fold pattern of daily prayer is to be found in 1QH[a] XX 7–10 and 1QS X 1–3.

[13] This interpretation lies within the range of meaning for תקופה. The hypothetical root of תקופה, √קוף, occurs in its verbal form as √נקף which means "to revolve, or recur" in the Qal, and "to encircle, or go around" in the Hiphil form. Broadly, תקופה can refer to:

1) A period of time related to a revolving circuit. Often תקופה is used to refer to the end of an annual cycle, or 'turning-point,' or the 'end of year' (תקופת השנה), as in Exod 34:22, 2 Chr 24:23, and 4Q286 1 ii 10 (4QBerakhot). Cf. HALOT, s.v. תקופה; P. Joüon, "תקופת השנה fin de l'année et תשובת השנה commencement de l'année," *Biblica* 3 (1922): 71–4; M. Dahood, *Psalms I, 1–50: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 123. In a addition there are a few instances where תקופה refers more generally to the end of a period of

	Time of day	Text	Line
a	morning	עם מבוא אור לממשלתו	7–8
b	midday	בתקופות יום לתכונו (לחוקות מאור גדול)	8
c	evening	בפנות ערב ומוצא אור	8–9
c	evening	ברשית ממשלת חושך	9
b	midnight	למועד לילה בתקופתו	9
a	morning	לפנות בוקר ובקצ האספו אל מעונתו מפני אור	10
d	*inclusio*	למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם תמיד	

time, such as Hannah's pregnancy in 1 Sam 1:20, or a period of impurity (4Q274 3 ii 9 [4QTohorot]: "In the field, by any means, during the course of [his impurity . . ." (. . . טהרתו] בכול מודו לתקופת [DJD XXXV]). In the case of Ps 19:7, modern commentators translate תקופה as referring to the daily course of the sun in between sunrise and sunset.

2) The midpoints of the sun's cycle. In early Jewish and rabbinic literature תקופה became a technical term used to specify the 'turning' of the seasons, which are marked by the summer and winter solstices and the two equinoxes of the year (cf. *Jub.* 2:9–10 [=4Q216 VI 8]; 29:16; 1QH^a XX 11; 1QS X 6; *m. Abot* 3.18; *b. San.* 11b; *b. Ber.* 59b). Cf. Jastrow, s.v. תקופה. For an overview of the 364-day calendar and the technical use of תקופה in that calendar, see J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 15–20. That is, תקופה came to refer not only to the beginning and end of the solar year—the turning-points of the earth's orbit (solstice), but also to the *middle* of that circuit at the two equinoxes when the hours of light and darkness are equal in length. (One example where this interpretation of תקופה is clearly stated is in *b. Erubim* 56a, where we read: תקופת ניסן ותקופת תשרי חמה יוצאה בחצי מזרח ושוקעת בחצי מערב "At the vernal [תקופת ניסן] and autumnal equinoxes [ותקופת תשרי] the sun rises in the middle point of the East and sets in the middle point of the West.") תקופה thus constitutes the symmetrical division of the solar year into four seasons, each containing ninety-one days (=364 days/year). This development of meaning is apparent already in LXX Exod 34:22, a text which, in reference to the "festival of ingathering" (i.e. Sukkot), translates תקופת השנה as μεσσοῦντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ("at the middle of the year") rather than the usual, "end" or "turn of the year," as in the MT. A similar sense of the word is also conveyed at 1QH^a XX 11 and 1QS X 6, in which the four cardinal days of the year are described as "at the turn of the seasons" (ותקופת מועדים).

Further, there are a number of late biblical and rabbinic texts, such as Sir 43:1–3 and *Tg. Ps.* 19:7, that interpret the תקופה of Ps 19:7 as "midday," the time when the sun's heat is strongest. While Ben Sira only alludes to Ps 19:7, and uses הצהירו ירתיח instead of תקופה, he clearly regards "midday" as an important time within the sun's daily cycle. See P. Shekan, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes. Introduction and Commentary by A. Di Lella* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 492. Shekan argues that Ps 19 (and Ps 104) lies behind the description of the heavens in Sir 43:1ff. See also S. Iwry, "Lights in the Dominion of Light According to Ben Sira and the Scrolls of the Judean Desert," *Beit Miqra* 20 (1975): 171–9. In later rabbinic tradition, such as in *Tg. Ps.* 19:7, תקופה is explicitly understood as "midday." Here the interpretation of "midday" is based on a slightly different reading of תקופה, in which the root of the word is read as √תקף which means "strength" or "zenith," signifying the strength of noontime sun (and metaphorically the strength of the warrior sun, a common motif in the ancient world).

morning	With the coming of light to [its] domain;
midday	at the midpoints of the day with respect to its arrangement (according to the rules of the great luminary);[14]
evening	at the turning of evening and the departure of light;
evening	at the beginning of the dominion of darkness;
midnight	at the appointed time of night, at its midpoint;
morning	and at the time when it is gathered in to its dwelling place before (the approach of) light;
inclusio	at the departure of night and the coming of day, continually

The three transitional points of the day and night are thus demarcated in the calendar with the following words or phrases: מבוא אור/לפנות בוקר[15] (morning), תקופה (midday/midnight), and ברשית ממשלת חושך/פנות ערב[16] (evening).[17]

Translating תקופה as 'midpoint' not only fits within the semantic range of תקופה, it accords best with the basic and well-established threefold division of day and night, a division commonly seen in biblical and Second Temple period texts (e.g. Judg 7:19; Exod 14:24; 1 Sam 11:11; Dan 6:11; Ps 55:18; *Jub.* 49:10, 12; 1QS VI 6–8), and also in the broader ancient Greco-roman world (meridies=midday, ante merideim [am], post meridiem [pm]).[18] In rabbinic literature, too, we see this division: in *y. Ber.* 4.1, for example, R. Yosi b. Hannina explains that the three-fold pattern of daily prayer in rabbinic Judaism is based on three prominent positions of the sun throughout the day (cf. also *Lam. R.* 2:29, *m. Ber.* 4.1).[19] It is

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[14] I suspect that this phrase is an added gloss, hence the brackets. See below for further discussion.

[15] The phase האספו אל מעונתו מפני אור in line 10 further describes לפנות בוקר.

[16] The phrase ומוצא אור in lines 8–9 further describes בפנות ערב.

[17] Talmon argued that this literary structure should be interpreted literally, that every poetic description of the sun's movements should be read as a time for prayer, so that the text lists six times of prayer (Talmon, "The 'Manual of Benedictions,'" 475–500; idem, "Emergence," 200–43). While Talmon's reading of תקופה is correct from a literary perspective, when we place this calendar within a broader Qumran context (see below), it is best to read the calendar as describing four times for prayer within a daily cycle—sunrise, midday, evening, and midnight, as in the above diagram.

[18] A number of scholars recognize this tripartite structure but still maintain that the intention of the calendar is to describe prayer twice daily. Cf. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 53; Chazon, "When Did They Pray?," 44.

[19] See also Kimelman, "Rabbinic Prayer in Late Antiquity," 589. This division of the day is ubiquitous in the ancient world. See, for example, the first two chapters in S. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3–28; R. Hannah, *Time in Antiquity* (Sciences of Antiquity; London: Routledge, 2009), 136ff.; A. Borst, *The Ordering of Time: From Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer* (trans. A. Winnard; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 1–15; S. Stern, *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003), 53;

apt to recall J. Pederson's comments on the pervasiveness of this natural threefold division of the day, and how it was experienced in ancient life. He writes:

> 'Morning' is everything connected with the sun's driving away the darkness with its rays; 'high light' is everything which happens in connection with the clear noonday sun, also called the 'glow of the sun;' the 'breeze of the day' is the time of the day which is characterized by the cool evening breeze of Palestine. The colourless idea of 'hour', measuring time in a purely quantitative way, is far from the old Israelitic conception.[20]

3. 1QS IX 26B–X 8A[21]

Like 1QH[a] XX 7–14a, the calendar at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a lists times for prayer for the day, seasons, festivals and new year. Lines 1–3 describe times of prayer for the day:

J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 143ff.; J.-A. Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History* (2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 128.

While general divisions of the day continued to direct the flow of daily life well into the Medieval period for most people, it is worth noting that by the second century BCE sundials in the Mediterranean world were incorporated into public civil life, particularly in urban areas, which allowed for a greater precision in counting time and marking events. Cf. G. Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders* (trans. T. Dunlap; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 17ff.; Hannah, *Time in Antiquity*. We even find an implicit connection between praying and a sundial in *Ag. Ap.* 2.10–11. Here Josephus quotes from Apion's *History of Egypt*, a text in which Apion mentions the inclusion of a (conical shaped?) sundial within an open-air prayer-house: "Moses, as I heard from the elders of the Egyptians, was a Heliopolitan, who, being pledged to his ancestral customs, used to build open-air prayer-houses in line with whatever circuits the sun had, and used to turn them all towards the east; for that is also the orientation of Heliopolis. In place of obelisks he set up pillars, under which there was a base of a sundial sculptured in relief; this had the shadow of a statue cast upon it, in such a way that this went round in accordance with the course of the sun as it travels continuously through the air." The open-air prayer-house would have been a structural requirement if the circuits of the sun were incorporated somehow in the prayer-house services. For translation and further commentary, see J. Barclay, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, Volume 10 Against Apion* (ed. S. Mason; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 173–5.

[20] J. Pederson, *Israel: Its Life and Culture I–II* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), 489. See also S. Stern's book, *Time and Process*, in which he looks at how time was conceived of as an experiential process in early rabbinic culture, not a reified concept.

[21] The *Community Rule*, one of the most important sectarian documents from Qumran, served as a type of constitution for the community. The copy from cave one is dated to around the first quarter of the first century BCE (100–75 BCE). Ten copies were found in cave four, but only copies b, d, and f contain the liturgical calendar found at the end of 1QS (B= X 3–7; D= X 1–2, 4–7; F= X 2–5). 4QS[j] contains fragments of the concluding hymn of praise, but not the liturgical calendar. The parallels between 4QS[b] XIX 1–6 and 1QS

26 [ ]קֹה יברך עושיו ובכול אשר יהיה יסַפֶּ֫[ר תרומת] שפתים יְבָרְכֵנוּ
1 עם קצים אשר חקקא ברשית ממשלת אור עַם תַּקופתו ובהאַסְפּוֹ עַל מַעֲוַן
חֻוקוֹ בָּרִאשׁוֹנָה
2 אֲשֶׁמּוֹרֵי חושכ כיא יפתח אוצרו וישתהו עלת[22] ובהתקוֹפַתּוֹ עִם הֵאָסֵפּוֹ מִפְּנֵי
אוֹר בָּאֻפְעָיו
3 מאורות מזבול קודש עם האַסְפָּם לְמַעֲוַן כְּבוֹד בְּמַבּוֹאָ מועדים לימי חודש
יחד תקופתם עם
4 מסרותם זֶה לָזֶה בהתחדשם יֹום גדול לקודש קודשים ואות נ למפתח חִסְדֵי
עוֹלָם לְרִאשׁוֹנִי
5 מועדים בכול קץ נהיה ברשית ירחים למועדיהם וימי קודש בְּתַכְונָם לְזִכָּרוֹן
בְּמוֹעֲדֵיהֶם

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are underlined (lines X 3–7). Parallels of 4QS[d] VIII 10–IX 6 are indicated with a broken underline (lines X 1–2, 4–7). Where both 4QS[b] and 4QS[d] overlap with 1QS the parallel is indicated with a double underline. Parallels with 4QS[f] are indicated with a dashed overbar (lines 1–2, 3, 4).

1QS is a composite text and the longest copy of the document. In her work on the development of redaction-history of the *Community Rule*, S. Metso argued that while 4QS[e] was copied later, circa 30–1 BCE, it is a copy representing a version of the *Community Rule* older than 1QS. If this sequence of copies is correct, it would demonstrate that the liturgical calendar (1QS IX 26b–X 8a) and concluding hymn of praise (1QS X 8b–XI 22) were added at a later time, as 4QS[e] does not contain this section. For a discussion of these textual issues, see S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 143–9. Also see P. Alexander, who argues that the paleographic dating of the manuscripts should be given priority in reconstructing the evolutionary stages of this document. Thus, the cave four copies that were copied later than 1QS represent a form of the text later than 1QS, not earlier (cf. P. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yahad: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 [1996]: 437–457). For our purposes it is important to note that 1QS underwent a complex redactional history and that the calendar at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a was added to 1QS during this redactional activity. I am inclined to see the calendar at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a as a later addition simply because it stands outside the primary interest of *Community Rule*, which pertains to prescribed rules for community members. In any case we do not need to solve the question regarding the redaction of the calendar within the history of 1QS, as it is clear from the inclusion of the calendar in 1QH[a], an early sectarian document (c. 100–75 BCE), that this calendar was important already at an early stage in the life of the community.

[22] The reading of עלת is uncertain. Alexander and Vermes (DJD XXVI, 117) point out that in 4Q258 there is a slight gap after עלת that might reflect scribal uncertainty about the word. Licht emended the unusual word to עלטה, "darkness," as in Gen 15:17 and Ezek 12:6, 7, 12. (Also see Ps 18:12, וישת חושך and 104:20, תשת חושך ויהי לילה.) Thus עלטה may have been used as a poetic synonym for night. The calendar here shows some affinity with the language from Ps 104:20 (see also Ps 104:22), in which case עלטה may be possible, but it is difficult to reconcile this feminine noun with the masculine suffix on שית. Dupont-Sommer translated the phrase "et qu'Il les place en haut" (i.e. the "storehouse" is above the earth), by interpreting עלת as an adverb (unattested form), or as a defective infinitive absolute (עלות) used adverbially. See A. Dupont-Sommer, "Contribution a l'exegese du 'Manuel de Discipline' X 1–8," *VT* 2 (1952): 233, 236. Others have suggested reconstructing על תבל (e.g. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: hebräisch und deutsch* [Munich: Kösel, 1964], 26), which I prefer.

6 תרומת שפתים הברכנו כחוק חרות לעד בראשי שנים ובתקופת מועדיהם
בהשלם חוק
7 תכונם יום משפטו זה לזה מועד קציר לקיץ ומועד זרע למועד דשא מועדי
שנים לשבועיהם
8 וברוש שבועיהם למועד דרור

Translation:

26 He will bless him
1 with the times that he decreed, at the beginning of the dominion of light, at its turning-point, and when it withdraws to its prescribed place, at the beginning
2 of the watches of darkness when he opens his storehouse and spreads it upon the earth, and at its turning-point when it withdraws before the light, when the luminaries shine
3 from the holy abode. When they gather themselves to the place of glory, at the commencement of the seasons on the days of the new moon, together with their turning-point and
4 their transmitting one to the other. When they are renewed (it is) a great day for the most holy and a sign of the release of his eternal mercies, at the heads of
5 seasons in every time to come, at the beginning of months at their appointed times, and on holy days in their fixed order, as memorials at their appointed times.
6 (With) the offering of the lips I will praise him according to the statute engraved forever; at the heads of years and at the turning-points of their seasons by the completion of the statute
7 their norm, (each) day with its precept, one after another, from the season for harvest until summer, from the season of sowing until the season of grass, from the seasons for years until their seven year periods,
8 at the beginning of their seven-year period until the time of liberty.

3.1. *The Literary Structure of 1QS X 1–3*

A comparison between the calendar at 1QS XI 26b–X 3 and 1QH[a] XX 7–14a reveals some differences in the vocabulary, as well as a different poetic structure that leaves the calendar in 1QS slightly unbalanced (particularly in lines 2–3) and difficult to interpret. However, as in 1QH[a] XX 7–14a, the main issue of interpretation is the meaning of תקופה. Those who argue that this calendar lists prayer twice a day, sunrise and sunset, posit that, as in 1QH[a], תקופה cannot refer to a specific time of prayer in addition to sunrise and sunset, but that תקופה further describes the turning of night to day.[23] To make this interpretation of תקופה work, these scholars

[23] Cf. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 106; Chazon, "When Did they Pray," 44; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 54; Dupont-Sommer, "Contribution," 232ff. See note 9 for others that argue that this calendar refers to prayer twice daily.

are forced to argue that 1QS X 1–3 describes the daily movement of the cosmological bodies, not as one complete day/night cycle as in 1QH[a], but as three complete daily cycles. M. Weise argues for this structure in great detail, positing that each daily cycle is described schematically in three different ways, each emphasizing a different feature of the astronomical cycle: light, darkness, and the stars.[24] Leaney and Falk follow Weise's interpretation. The text is divided accordingly:[25]

	Time of day		Text
a	sunrise	ברשית ממשלת אור עם תקופתו	1QS x 1
b	sunset	ובהאספו על מעון חוקו	1QS x 1
b	sunset	ברשית אשמורי חושך כיא יפתי אוצרו וישתהו עלת	1QS x 1–2
a	sunrise	ובתקופתו עם האספו מפני אור	1QS x 2
b	sunset	באופיע מאורות מזבול קודש	1QS x 2–3
a	sunrise	עם האספם למעון כבוד	1QS x 3

sunrise	At the beginning of the dominion of light; at its turning-point,
sunset	and when it withdraws itself to its prescribed place;
sunset	At the beginning of the watches of darkness—when he opens its storehouse and sets it over . . . —
sunrise	and at its turning-point when it withdraws itself before the light;
sunset	When the luminaries shine from the holy dwelling
sunrise	(and) when they gather themselves to the place of glory.[26]

Weise's solution, that this calendar describes daily prayer times from three different perspectives (light, darkness, and the stars), trades one set of problems for another, and is not convincing. For example, why would the author repeat a description of the daily cycle three times when the other, longer, cycles of time in the calendar are described only once? And, why would the author reverse the sunrise/sunset order in the second and third description to sunset/sunrise? Further, why does the author choose to use תקופה only in the first two daily descriptions but not the third? It is also possible that the phrase "he opened his storehouse" (יפתח אוצרו וישתהו עלת) in the context of the 'watches of darkness' implies the presence of

[24] Weise, *Kultzeiten*, 10–20.
[25] Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 239; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 106.
[26] This translation is from Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 106.

stars in the second and third description of the day/night cycle in Weise's schema (line 2), rather than only the third.[27]

I suggest instead that the redactor of this text incorporated the same basic tripartite structure as in 1QH[a], in which תקופה was understood as the midpoint or 'zenith' of the sun's circuit:[28]

Time of day		Text
a morning	ברשית ממשלת אור	1QS x 1
b midday	עם תקופתו	1QS x 1
c evening	ובהאספו על מעון חוקו	1QS x 1
c evening	ברשית אשמורי חושכ	
	כיא יפתח אוצרו וישתהו עלת	1QS x 1–2
b midnight	ובתקופתו עם האספו מפני	
	באופיע מאורות מזבול קודש	1QS x 2–3
a morning	עם האספם למעון כבוד	1QS x 3

morning	At the beginning of the dominion of light;
midday	at its turning-point;
evening	and when it withdraws to its prescribed place;
evening	At the beginning of the watches of darkness
	when he opens his storehouse and spreads it upon the earth (?)
midnight	and at its turning-point when it withdraws before the light;
	When the luminaries shine from the holy abode;
morning	When they gather themselves to the place of glory

The tripartite structure of the calendar becomes even clearer when we examine the redactional changes that took place when the calendar was

[27] God's 'storehouse' was understood generally as a place from which God gives good things to Israel (cf. Deut 28:12; Isa 45:3). Jer 50:12 also states that this storehouse is where the Lord's heavenly host resides. Given the close connection between "hosts" and "stars" (see Chapter Five), and given that God has opened up his storehouse during the watches of the night, we should see in this line an implicit reference to the stars.

Numerous Dead Sea Scrolls texts demonstrate that the Qumran community anticipated receiving a variety of benefits from the opening of God's storehouse. This storehouse is not only source of good things for the community's existential needs (e.g. rain: cf. 4Q285 8 5//11Q14 1 ii 8), but was believed to be a source of divine wisdom (4Q286 1 ii 7; 4Q418 81 + 81a 9). The concomitance of the themes of darkness (see also Isa 45:3: here the treasures in God's storehouse are unseen and pertain specifically to darkness [ונתתי לך אוצרו חשך]), blessing, and wisdom with the word אוצר is intriguing. Perhaps the opening of God's 'storehouse' during the 'watches of darkness' provided some impetus for the nightly study sessions of the community (cf. 1QS VI 6–7). See also Ezek 1:1 in which the "opening" of the heavens (נפתחו השמים) led to Ezekiel's visions of God.

[28] For others who maintain a similar position, see note 12.

added to 1QS. It was during this process that the redactor of 1QS lifted numerous phrases from other passages in 1QS and other Qumran documents to blend and harmonize the calendar with its surrounding context. In doing so, however, the redactor lost some of the poetic balance that we find in 1QH^a. When we peel back these redactional layers, however, we see a literary structure that is based on the threefold division of day like in 1QH^a.

4. The Redaction of the Calendar at 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a

Similar style, parallel vocabulary, and literary sequence in both 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a indicate a textual relationship between the two texts. The most extensive discussion of this relationship was undertaken by Talmon, who, in order to account for these similarities, argued that both texts derive from a common *Vorlage*. According to Talmon, this *Vorlage*, which he labeled a 'Manual of Benedictions,' was constructed by the Qumran community for the purpose of listing the entire roster of prayers at their appropriate times of recitation.[29] He further argued that this 'Manual' was not reproduced fully at 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a, although he did suggest that the text at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a was a more faithful copy of the *Vorlage* than at 1QH^a XX 7–14a, as the former contains more detail regarding Sabbatical years and Jubilees (lines 6–8). He also suggested thought that the following section in 1QS X 8b–XI 14 listed the prayers to be said at the times prescribed in the preceding calendar (i.e. 1QS X 1–8a) and was part of the 'Manual.' Regarding the calendar in the *Hodayot*, Talmon thought that it was more of a "free rendition" that suited the poetic and meditative purposes of the *Hodayot*.[30]

A number of factors reinforce Talmon's position that both 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a share a *Vorlage* (although I disagree that this *Vorlage* originally concerned prayer; see below): these passages share a

[29] S. Talmon, "The Order of Prayers of the Sect of the Judaean Desert," *Tarbiz* 29 (1959): 1–20; idem, "The 'Manuel of Benedictions,' " 475–500; idem, "Emergence," 200–43.

[30] Cf. Talmon, "Emergence," 214. Falk (*Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 104) describes the text at 1QS X 1b–8a as a "poetic cultic calendar," which was adapted to a catalogue of times of prayer. Del Medico thought 1QS X 1–9 was a paraphrase of 1QH^a XX 7–14a and suggested that the redactor of 1QS X 1–9 was uninterested in prayer. He further argues that 1QS X 1–9 "a servi de theme à double sens à un pamphlet contre l'adminstration romaine en Judée" (pp. 34–5; Del Medico, "La traduction d'un texte démarqué dans le Manuel de Discipline," *VT* 6 [1956]: 34–9). No one has taken up his suggestion.

similar style and vocabulary that is uncharacteristic of their surrounding contexts. For example:

Style. The style of 1QH^a XX 7–14a—short nominal sentences, chiastically arranged—is unlike much of the rest of the *Hodayot* and hints of a previous setting or different textual origin. The short *vacat* at XX 14 further indicates this calendar was thought of as an autonomous subunit within the hymn in column XX. Similarly, the poetic calendar at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a is somewhat out of place in the *Community Rule* as this is a document that lays out the organization and legal requirements for community members. The absence of the calendar at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a in some manuscript copies (4QS^e) could also indicate that it was appended from another source (see note 21).

Vocabulary. Both texts share many of the same terms to describe the rotation of the day and year: מאור/אור (1QS X 1–3; 1QH^a XX 7–10), לילה/ חושך (1QS X 2; 1QH^a XX 9, 10), מועד (1QS X 3, 5; 1QH^a XX 9, 11), קץ (1QS X 1, 5; 1QH^a XX 7, 11), ממשלה (1QS X 1; 1QH^a XX 8, 9, 12), תקופה (1QS X 1, 2, 3, 6; 1QH^a XX 8, 9, 11), תכון[31] (1QS X 5, 7, 9; 1QH^a XX 8, 11), חוק (1QS X 1, 6; 1QH^a XX 8), מעון (1QS X 1, 3; 1QH^a XX 10), האסף (1QS X 1, 2, 3; 1QH^a XX 10), מפני אור (1QS X 2; 1QH^a XX 10). This shared language follows roughly the same basic structure of the day.

	1QH^a	1QS
morning	עם מבוא אור לממש[לתו	ברשית ממשלת אור
midday	בתקופות יום לתכונו לחוקות מאור גדול	תקופתו עם
evening	בפנות ערב ומוצא אור	ובהאספו על מעון חוקו
evening	ברשית ממשלת חושך	ברשית אשמורי חושכ
midnight	למועד לילה בתקופתו	ובתקופתו עם האספו מפני אור באופיע מאורות מזבול קודש
morning	לפנות בוקר ובקצ האספו אל מעונתו מפני אור	עם האספם למעון כבוד

While I agree with Talmon that both 1QS and 1QH^a worked from a common source for their calendar, the significant differences between 1QH^a XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a regarding prayer language indicate that

[31] These are the only two locations of the word תכון in the *Hodayot*. The prevalence of this word in 1QS compared to its relative absence 1QH^a is striking.

originally the purpose of the *Vorlage* was not to list times of prayer, but that the authors of 1QH[a] XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a adapted this *Vorlage* for such a purpose by adding prayer language to suit each of their own needs.[32] In the case of 1QH[a] XX 7–14a the prayer language comes in the rubrical heading and introduction to the main body of the calendar (למשכיל הודות ותפלה להתנפל והתחנן תמיד מקץ לקץ); there is no hint, however, of prayer within the description of the cosmological movements. Indeed it is likely that parts of the opening rubric at 1QH[a] XX 7 were lifted from 1QH[a] IV 30 (ולהודות על פשעי ראשונים ולה[תנפ]ל ולהתחנן על]) when the *Vorlage* was placed in its current context.[33]

Prayer vocabulary was also added to the calendar at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a. Unlike 1QH[a] XX 7–14a, however, where we find language of thanksgiving, prostration, and petition, the liturgical focus in 1QS is centered on the performance of blessings (1QS IX 26b: יברכנו; 1QS X 6a: אברכנו). The redactor of 1QS regarded these blessings as a "gift of lips," תרומת שפתים (1QS IX 26, X 6a, X 8b), a term that was lifted from a passage in 1QS IX 4–5 that pertains to the theological nature of the community's prayer practices: תרומת שפתים למשפט כניחוח.

Along with the added prayer vocabulary, a number of other poetic embellishments were introduced during the compositional process that altered the balance of the strophic lines. This is most readily apparent in 1QS X 1–3. For example, while the presence of the word תקופה in 1QS X 1–3 indicates that the redactor still adhered to the basic solar pattern enumerated in Ps 19:7, he also makes use of other descriptions of daily cosmological movements found in scripture, such as in Ps 104 (v. 22: תזרח השמש יאספון ואל מעונתם ירבצון). אסף is used in 1QS X 1–3 to illustrate sunrise and sunset: עם האספו מפני אור ,(X 1) ובהאספו על מעון חוקו

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[32] Cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, 209; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 104 describes the text at 1QS X1b–10 as a "poetic cultic calendar," which was adapted to a catalogue of times of prayer. Aside from the prayer language, however, there is nothing in this text to indicate it was a "cultic calendar."

[33] For this reconstruction, see DJD XL, 63; Puech, "Un Hymne esséne en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes, 1QH V 12–VI 18 (= Col. XIII–XIV 7) et 4QBéat," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 59–88. Terms such as התנפל and התחנן in the initial Maskil rubric at 1QH[a] XX 7 might indicate a sense of designated time as we see in different examples from the Hebrew Bible. The rubrical phrase, ה]ודות ותפלה להתנפל והתחנן, brings to mind such biblical passages where time was instrumental in the prayer. At the time of the evening sacrifice, Ezra 10:1 states: "Now Ezra was praying (התפלל) and making confession (התידה), weeping and prostrating (מתנפל) himself before the house of God." Dan 6:12: "So these men rushed in and found Daniel praying and pleading (התחנן) before his God" three times a day.

(X 2), למען כבוד עם האספם (X 3).[34] The redactor of 1QH^a XX 7–14a, however, preferred to describe the exchange of day and night with the use of the verbs פנה, בוא, and יצא. We do find the phrase האספו אל מעונתו מפני אור in 1QH^a XX 10 but in its present context this phrase further embellishes the description of the transition from night to day already illustrated with the previous phrase לפנות בוקר.

In addition, the redactor of 1QS IX 26b–X 8a added the interpretative gloss באופיע מאורות מזבול קודש in lines 2–3 from 4Q408 3 + 3a 5[35] (הפיע פארי כבדו מזבול קדש [...] יענו כל[ב]) to further illustrate his description of the nighttime: באופיע מאורות מזבול קודש עם האספם למען כבוד. Because the frequent use of the verb יפע in 4Q408 (3 + 3a 5, 8, 10) contrasts with its sudden appearance at 1QS X 2, we should regard באופיע מאורות מזבול קודש in 1QS X 2–3 as an interpolation from 4Q408. The purpose of this addition was to describe further the starry skies, but in doing so the strophe was extended which created an imbalance in the poetic symmetry in the calendar.

There is further evidence of redactional activity. The redactor of 1QS IX 26b–X 8a used the phrase תרומת שפתים found in 1QS IX 4–5 to frame his calendar.[36] We find תרומת שפתים used to introduce the calendar at IX 26 (ותרומת] שפתים יברכנו), we find it again at X 6 (תרומת שפתים הברכנו כחוק חרות), and we find it at the beginning of the next subsection at X 8b (ובכול היותי חוק חרות בלשוני לפרי תהלה ומנת שפתי). Similarly the phrase at X 5 בכול קץ נהיה may have been taken from 1QS XI 9 (כול קץ נהיה).[37]

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[34] This nomenclature is borrowed from the description of daily events in Ps 104:22 "When the sun rises, they gather to their habitation/dens" (יאספון ואל מעונתם).

[35] See DJD XXXVI, 305–7 for text and notes.

[36] As we already briefly noted, in 1QS IX 4–5 prayer is described as a "sacrificial gift" of the lips (תרומת שפתים) which, in combination with Qumran community's other communal activities, provides atonement for guilt. Recently Francesco Zanella has analyzed תרומה and has noted that the word is used predictably in sectarian texts to denote a "contribution of prayer," or a "contribution of knowledge." Zanella writes that this usage is a "striking modification of the whole semantic background of the substantive תרומה" (p. 32). See F. Zanella, "'Sectarian' and 'Non-Sectarian' Texts: A Possible Semantic Approach," *RevQ* 24 (2009): 19–34; idem, "The Lexemes תרומה and מנה in the Poetic Texts from Qumran: Analysis of a Semantic Development," in vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures* (ed. A. Lange, E. Tov, and M. Weigold; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 159–76.

[37] Alexander and Vermes, DJD XXVI, 119, also make this point although they suggest that vocabulary was borrowed from elsewhere in 1QS to construct the opening line to the calendar at IX 26b–X 1a. They also suggest that the hymn began with ברשית ממשלת אור (X 1) before it was appended to the end of 1QS, at which time the introductory phrase

The first person pronoun in the phrase "I will bless" in X 6a is out of place within a string of third person pronouns in 1QS IX 26b–X 8a, again indicating the composite nature of the calendar at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a (the switch to consecutive first person pronouns begins precisely at X 8b, the beginning of a new section). It is also possible that ברשית at X 1 and 2 was lifted from X 13 and 15 to create further unity between the calendar and the subsequent hymn when both were appended to the main body of the *Community Rule*. This would help explain the difference in nomenclature used to describe sunrise in 1QS X 1 (ברשית ממשלת אור) and 1QH^{a} XX 8 (עם מבוא אור לממשלתו).

When one takes the literary and redactional features of 1QH^{a} XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a into account, it becomes evident that a similar source lies behind both texts. When we subtract the vocabulary concerning prayer in both calendars, a poetic text emerges, the purpose of which was to describe the daily, seasonal, and annual movements of the sun. The structure for the daily circuit of the day would have had roughly the following structure:

ברשית/עם מבוא לממשלת אור
בתקופה
בפנות ערב
ברשית/ומוצא אור לממשלת חושך
בתקופה
לפנות בוקר האספו אל מעונתו מפני אור

It is not unusual that the calendar at 1QH^{a} XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a was built upon a *Vorlage* concerned with recounting the predictability of the heavenly cycles. The regularity of the cosmic cycles was a popular topic in antiquity and was often reflected upon and studied in the ancient world.[38] In Jewish circles of the Second Temple period too, we find such

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ובכול אשר יהיה יספ[ר . . .] שפתים יברכנו עם קצים אשר חקקא was added. I am arguing that this type of redactional activity occurs through the calendar.

[38] See for example, Aristotle, *Metaph.*; Seneca, *Helv.* 8.5; *Marc.* 18.5; Cicero *Nat. d.* II, 49–56; *Tusc.* I, 19.44; Hesiod, *Works and Days*; Ptolemy, *Algmagest* 1.1. Scientific observation of the heavenly cycles led to the development of Mesopotamian astrology. See F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans* (New York: Dover Publications, 1912), 3–21, 57–76; H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); S. Dalley et al., *The Legacy of Mesopotamia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); F. Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

reflections;[39] they were popular especially in apocalyptic literature, such as in *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch*.[40] Knowledge of the heavenly movements was seen as evidence of heavenly ascent and secret knowledge acquired there (e.g. *1 En.* 2–5; 41:5; 72:33–37; 82; *2 Bar.*; *2–3 En.*). A comparison, for example, with Enoch's summary of sun's movements found in the Ethiopic *Astronomical Book* (*1 En.* 72:33–37; see also 78:1–5) reveals some striking thematic parallels (note esp. the *italicized* portions):[41]

> The lengths of the day and the nights as well as the shortness of the day and the night are *determined by the course of the circuit of the sun*, and distinguished by it. *The circuit* becomes longer or shorter *day by day* and *night by night*. *Thus this is the order* for the source of the movement and the settlement of the sun—that *great luminary which is called the sun*, for the duration of the years of the universe—in respect to *its going in and coming out*. It is the very *luminary which manifests itself in its appearance as God has commanded that is shall come out and go in, in this manner*. And neither does it diminish (in respect to its brightness) nor take reset but continues to run day and night. As for *the intensity of its light*, it is sevenfold times brighter than that of the moon.[42]

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[39] See the recent book by Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*; J. VanderKam, "Sources for the Astronomy in *1 Enoch* 72–82," in vol. 2 of *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Postbiblical Judaism Presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (ed. C. Cohen et al.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 965–78. See also Cumont, *Astrology and Religion*, 57–76.

[40] Indeed, Holm-Nielsen writes that the themes of this section of the *Hodayot* (1QH[a] XX 7–14a) show closer affinity with such texts as *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* rather than what is "common ground in the O.T." See Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 209–10. For a similar recounting of the cosmos in *Jubilees*, see 2:9, "The Lord set the sun as a great sign over the earth for days and Sabbaths and months and seasons and years." For descriptions of the cosmos in *1 Enoch* see chs. 2–5; 41:5; 72–82. Regarding the connection between astronomy and apocalypticism, Ben-Dov writes: "The cosmological imperative drove the early apocalyptic authors to collect and preserve the fragments of Mesopotamian teachings available to them. It is to this fortunate circumstance that we owe the preservation of scientific material, some of it unattested elsewhere. Although not strictly apocalyptic, the group which later produced the calendrical texts maintained this cosmological interest by incorporating astronomical concepts into its cultic calendars" (in, *Head of All Years*, 7). In apocalyptic circles of the Second Temple period the regularity of the heavenly movements was cited as evidence for the uniformity and order of God's creation. This is unsurprising as one of the underlying causes of apocalypticism is theological, and perhaps social and/or political, discord. The appeal to the heavens as a perfectly and divinely ordered space—in which a consistency and symmetry, and thus a calm, can be observed—served to bring order to the present day uncertainties.

[41] Aramaic parallels from cave 4 have not been preserved, although probably did exist. Cf. G. Nickelsburg and J. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 37–82* (ed. K. Baltzer; Hermeneia; Fortress Press, 2012), 351–2, 409.

[42] Translation from *OTP I*.

5. The Calendar at 1QH[a] XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X8a and the Daily Life of the Qumran Community

We have just demonstrated in the previous section that 1QH[a] XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a stem from a *Vorlage* that did not function originally as a calendar of fixed times, but was only adapted for this use in its present context. Here we may ask the question of why the authors of 1QS and 1QH[a] saw this type of cosmological description to be suitable for a calendar of prayer times.

The *Vorlage* emphasizes the movements of sun, and would have had traction with the Qumran community as they seem to have followed primarily, although perhaps not exclusively, a solar calendar. The explicit reference to the sun in 1QH[a] XX 8 (מאור גדול), the absence of the moon as a marker for "night and day, and the seasons, days, and years" (cf. Gen 1:16), the fact that the day began with sunrise (see Chapter Three), and the emphasis on the times of the seasons, solstices and equinoxes, which are determined by the sun, indicate its importance.[43]

The Qumran community understood the heavenly movements to be predetermined and fixed by God (e.g. 1QS I 8–9, 13–15, CD III 14–15)[44] and as such the regular movements of the heavens offered an ideal pattern on which to organize their religious life, including their practices of fixed prayer.[45] A poetic description of the regularity of the heavenly movements

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[43] It is generally agreed upon that the 364-day solar calendar played a central role in community life (cf. J. VanderKam, *Calendars at Qumran: Measuring Time* [London: Routledge, 1998); however, recent research on the calendars at Qumran indicates that a strict dichotomy between the solar or lunar calendar is too simplistic. While the Qumran community seems to have followed primarily a solar calendar, a number of documents from Qumran demonstrate that the lunar cycle was intercalated with the sun's movements (cf. Ben Dov, *Head of All Years*; S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Gleßmer, *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* [DJD XXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001]).

[44] The Qumran community's times for worship were thought to be organized according to a predetermined divine design, an idea reflected in their use of the term תעודה; e.g. 1QS I 8–9; III 10; 1QM II 8; III 4; XIII 8; XIV 13; 4Q502 6–10 9, 16; 1QH[a] XX 12; תעודות in this context means "fixed time" or as *HALOT*, s.v. תעודה, states, תעודה means, "determinations for the calendar of festivals, for the holy war, for the law, for primaeval providence, for the order of nature and also for the fixing of God's Acts of salvation in history." For a discussion of this word see E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986), 115; H.-P. Müller, "Glauben und Bleiben: Zur Denkschrift Jesajas Kapitel vi 1–viii 18," in *Studies on Prophecy: A Collection of Twelve Papers* (VTSupplement 26; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 52–3; J. VanderKam, "Moses Trumping Moses: Making the Book of Jubilees," in *The Dead Scrolls: The Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. S. Metso (STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 37–40.

[45] Newsom, with reference to the use of ברשית in 1QS X 13–16, remarks, "Human time, like cosmic time, is given a subtle shaping that marks the points of beginning and

provided a textual icon of the heavenly clock, an apt system for a community with a heightened interest in ritual.[46]

The Qumran community adopted this *Vorlage* to describe prayer times in the calendar at 1QH[a] XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X8a because it already described a model of time that coincided with the daily routine of the Qumran community. The calendar at 1QH[a] XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X8a thus grew out of, and reflected, the community's actual daily liturgical experiences, in which sunrise, midday, sunset, midnight, were liturgically important. Even though I do not agree with Talmon that both calendars in 1QS and 1QH[a] adapted a pre-existing 'Manual of Benedictions,' I do suggest that the redactors of these calendars had in mind the daily, seasonal, and annual liturgical cycles that had been incorporated and developed within the Qumran religious system when they reworked their *Vorlage*.

Thus, contrary to those scholars that suggest that these calendars only describe prayer twice daily (see note 9), I am arguing that midnight and midday were also significant times for their daily prayer routine, and that these calendars evince this importance. In Chapter Five I will examine in detail key texts that point to the community's practice of regular nocturnal worship, but for the remainder of this chapter I will discuss descriptions that demonstrate the importance of communal prayer at the time of their midday meal.

The most explicit attestation of a shared midday meal comes from Josephus' account of the daily life of the Essenes in *J.W.* 2.128–132, in which Josephus records that the Essenes stopped their labor at the fifth hour of the day to break for a meal and pray:

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transition as qualitatively significant." She suggests further that the use such language as ברשית (as well as מבוא and יוצא) to describe the daily activities and worship practices of the community gives a sense of alignment with its "figured world of the sect" (*The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* [STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 183–4). This seems correct, but the poetic reference to the human experience also alludes to an ancient concept of time in which time is recognized through its relationship to a qualitative event (see note 20).

[46] Even though the following author is in no way formally connected to the Qumran community, it is noteworthy that the Greek astronomer Ptolemy (100–175 CE) regarded the movements of the heavens, if followed, as having the capacity to reform one's spiritual state. This idea finds resonance with the Qumran community. In *Almagest* 1.1, Ptolemy states: "With regard to virtuous conduct in practical actions and character, [astronomy], above all things, could make men see clearly; from the constancy, order symmetry and calm which are associated with the divine, it makes its followers lovers of this divine beauty, accustoming them and reforming their natures, as it were, to a similar spiritual state."

> Before the sun is up they utter no word on mundane matters, but offer to him certain prayers, which have been handed down from their forefathers, as though entreating him to rise.[47] They are then dismissed by their superiors to the various crafts in which they are severally proficient and are strenuously employed until the fifth hour (μέχρι πέμπτης ὥρας), when they again assemble in one place and, after girding their loins with linen cloths, bathe their bodies in cold water. After this purification, they assemble in a private apartment which none of the uninitiated is permitted to enter; pure now themselves, they repair to the refectory, as to some sacred shrine. When they have taken their seats in silence, the baker serves out the loaves to them in order, and the cook sets before each one plate with a single course. Before meat the priest says a grace, and none may partake until after the prayer. When breakfast (ἀριστοποιησαμένοις) is ended, he pronounces a further grace;[48] thus at the beginning and at the close they do homage to God as the bountiful giver of life. Then laying aside their raiment, as holy vestments, they again betake themselves to their labours until the evening.[49]

A number of sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls texts recall a meal setting with accompanying prayer that parallels Josephus' description, although these texts do not indicate the time of the meal. 1QS VI 1–6, for example, states,

> In this way shall they behave in all their places of residence. Whenever one fellow meets another, the junior shall obey the senior in work and in money. They shall eat together, together they shall bless and together they shall take counsel. In every place where there are ten men of the community council there should not a priest missing amongst them. And when they prepare the table to dine or the new wine for drinking, the priest shall stretch out his hand as the first to bless the first fruits of the bread and of the new wine. (*DSSSE*, 83)

A second text 1QSa II 17–22 describes a communal meal (lit. "communal table:" חן יחד[השול) with almost identical instruction. This text was written to describe the procedure of the communal meal in the eschaton, a meal that includes the participation of the Messiah of Israel. But, as Stegemann argues, even though the meal is situated in the future, we can

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[47] For general comments on this passage see A. Runesson, D. Binder, and B. Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 72; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 68–70.

[48] T. Beall translates, "When they have breakfasted, he prays again…" (cf. T. Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], 17).

[49] Translation from Josephus, *Jewish War* (trans. H. Thackeray; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 371–3.

read it as a description of how the meal was conducted in the present-day life of those in the Qumran community.[50]

One other description of the daily communal meal is found in 1QS X 13b–16a (esp. ll. 14b–15a); here too blessing is required:

> (13b) When (ברשית) I stretch out hand and foot I will bless his name.
> When (ברשית) I go out and come in (צאת ובוא) (14) sit and rise and while lying on my couch, I will cry for joy to him.
>
> I will bless him with the offering of the utterance of my lips in the row of men.[51]
> (15) and before I lift my hands to eat of the pleasant fruits of the earth.
>
> In the beginning (ברשית) of dread and fear (פחד ואימה), and in the abode of affliction and distress (16) I will bless him for his exceedingly wondrous activity. (1QS X 13b–16a)

This text is a subunit consisting of three stanzas, each demarcated by the verb "bless," within the hymn that begins at 1QS X 8b and ends at XI 15a.[52] The first stanza at line 13b summarizes generally the importance of continual prayer in the life of the Qumran community. The next two stanzas describe other times that prayer would have taken place; the middle stanza refers to the blessing of the fruit of the earth according to the ranking of men, which compares with the communal meal as outlined in 1QS VI and 1QSa II. The phrase in the third stanza, "in the beginning of fear and dread" may reflect the anti-demon prayers that were recited by the community, perhaps, although not exclusively, at nighttime.[53]

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[50] Cf. H. Stegemann, "Some Remarks to *1QSa*, to *1QSb* and to Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 479–505; C. Hempel, "The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 253–269.

[51] Alexander and Vermes suggest the phrase "row of men" (מערכת אנשים) indicates a communal setting, playing on the expression מערכת לחם in 2 Chr 13:11 to describe the showbread in the sanctuary. The rows of members resemble the rows of showbread implying the community members are a living offering to God (DJD XXVI, 125).

[52] Falk (*Daily, Festival, and Sabbath Prayer*, 112–4) divides these lines differently, grouping together lines 10–14a; however, the repeated "I will bless" formula (אברך) at lines 13b, 14, and 16, and the temporal setting marked by the word ברשית (X 13, 15), the only time these features are found in this section, suggest that the poetic units of this text should be divided according to lines 10–13a, followed by lines 13b–16a.

[53] The phrase "in the abode of affliction and distress" (ובמכון צרה עם בוקה) after ברשית פחד ואימה lacks any temporal reference, but a lack of light is characteristic of distress (צרה) (cf. Isa 8:22; Zeph 1:15).

The night is commonly referred to as a time of fear and danger within the ancient Near East and Greco-roman world and we find many examples of this in biblical texts. See, for example, Ps 91:5, "You shall not fear the terror of the night (מפחד לילה) nor the arrow that flies by day;" Prov 3:24, "When you lie down, you need not be afraid (פחד),

The question of whether it is methodologically appropriate to use Josephus' description of the Essenes to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of the Qumran community continues to be debated in Qumran studies. In this instance, however, if we can accept that the community ate a daily meal together, Josephus' description of the Essenes' daily routine is instructive.[54] This account has been reproduced in full here not only to demonstrate the importance of communal prayer at the midday meal, but also to draw attention to the general threefold division of the day that guided one's daily routine in the ancient world. Josephus' account, which is divided according to morning, the fifth hour, and evening, parallels other accounts of daily life, particularly in the Roman world. The Roman poet Martial (last half of first century CE) for example writes:

> The first and second hours wear out the morning greeters. The third hour taxes the talents of strident lawyers. Rome continues her various labors well into the fifth hour. The sixth hour promises rest for the weary, and the seventh will bring an end to their work. The eighth hour provides time for the

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when you rest, your sleep will be sweet;" Song 3:8, "All of them expert with the sword, skilled in battle, each with his sword guarding against the terror (פחד) of the night;" Deut 28:67, "In the morning you will say, 'Would that it were evening!' and in the evening you will say, 'Would that it were morning!' for the dread (פחד) that your heart must feel and the sight that your eyes must see." See also Isa 21:4, "My mind reels, shuddering assails me; my yearning for twilight has turned into dread;" Exod 15:16, "Terror and dread (אימה ופחד) fell upon them. By the might of your arm they were frozen like stone, while your people, O Lord, passed over, while the people you had made your own passed over;" Ps 23:4, "Even when I walk through a dark valley, I fear no harm for you are at my side; your rod and staff give me courage." The phrase פחד ואימה is also found at 1QS I 16–18 in reference to the dominion of Belial: "All those who enter the Rule of the Community shall enter in to the covenant before God to do all of his commandments. They must not turn back from (following) after him because of dread, fear, or affliction (פחד ואימה ומצרף) that may occur during the dominion of Belial." I will argue in Chapter Five that, given the connection between darkness and the dominion of Belial, it stands to reason that the community took preventive measures against succumbing to Belial's machinations by incorporating prayers for protection during the night.

[54] Based on a comparison with meal practices of other Hellenistic associations, Klinghardt argued that the communal meal at Qumran took place only on occasion (M. Klinghardt, "The Manuel of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realites and Future Prospects*, ed. M. O. Wise, N. Golb, J. Collins, and D. G. Pardee [New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994], 261–2). Given the communal nature of the community, however, in which they were to eat, bless, and take counsel together (1QS VI 2–3), and given the existence of a dining room and an large number of dishes excavated from the site (cf. J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002], 113ff., 124–6), a regular common meal is highly probable, as also argued by P. Bilde, "The Common Meal," 145–66; J. van der Ploeg, "The Meals of the Essenes," *JSS* 2 (1957): 163–75; L. Schiffman, "Communal Meals at Qumran," *RevQ* 10 (1979): 45–56.

> sleek gymnasia, and the ninth bids us to sink down in on cushions which have been piled high. (*Epigrams* 4.8.1–6)

Martial's reference to the fifth and sixth hours alludes to a typical Roman work day, in which most broke around noon for lunch and siesta, and then returned to work later in the afternoon (see also Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 3.3.5; Alkiphron, *The Letters* 3.1).[55] Josephus' reference to the fifth hour may have been more a reflection of his own cultural practice or that of his audience rather than an exact account of the Essenes' daily routine, and of course there is some question as to whether תקופה in 1QH^{a} XX 8 and 1QS X 1 is functionally the same as Josephus' fifth hour. If we interpret תקופה as referring to the sun's 'zenith' or 'high point,' breaking from work at the fifth hour points to the midday for their communal meal. (As I have mentioned earlier, precise hourly computus was simply not in the general purview of the ancient world.) If one could show that the Essenes based their meal times on the daily calendar of the sun, particularly when the sun reached its zenith or midpoint in the sky, this point would be strengthened. This, of course, cannot be proven or disproven. None of the sectarian documents explicitly affirm this midday meal schedule, but given the importance of the sun as a means of dividing the day, and given the importance of eating and praying together, I suggest a correlation between the tripartite division of the day in 1QH^{a} XX 7–10 and 1QS X 1–3 and the schedule of prayers and blessings that the Qumran community recited. The enumeration of daily times in this calendar is, therefore, not based solely on aligning prayer with "astronomical renewal" only at sunrise and sunset, but rather, the calendar encompasses the totality of the daily prayer experiences of the community, including the daily midday meal and the nighttime vigil. That is, the calendar marks all the times of the day important for the daily routine of the Qumran community.

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[55] Cf. Shelton, *As the Romans Did*, 128; Hannah, *Time in Antiquity*, 136ff. In *Life* 279, Josephus speaks of breaking for lunch at the sixth hour on Sabbath which again evinces the ubiquitous custom of breaking at noon for a meal: "But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour, which was now come, had dissolved the assembly, at which hour our laws require us to go to dinner (ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι) on Sabbath days." See also, D. Noy, "The Sixth Hour is the Mealtime for Scholars: Jewish Meals in the Roman World," in *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (ed. I. Nielsen and H. Nielsen; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1998), 134–44.

6. Conclusions

In the previous chapters of this dissertation I have noted particular times of the day that were attractive for praying. Prayer was often coordinated with sacrifice (Chapter One); in other settings, daily prayer was coordinated with times of study and meditation that took place before sleeping and after rising (Chapter Two). In Chapter Three I discussed two prayer texts, 4Q503 and 4Q408, in which the consistency and regularity of heavenly luminaries provided for the Qumran community a compelling pattern for organizing their daily prayer schedule; in the present chapter I have examined another such prayer text based on the cycle of the heavenly luminaries, the calendar of prayer times found at 1QH^{a} XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a. This calendar, which was adapted from a poetic description of the sun's cyclical movements, utilized the time keeping function of the sun within God's divine law of time and enabled the community to synchronize their own daily activities according to God's purposes.

The calendar describes four main times of liturgical activity for one day/night cycle: sunrise, midday, sunset, and midnight. Thus, the calendar at 1QH^{a} XX 7–14a and 1QS IX 26b–X 8a is not limited to the diurnal pattern of sunrise and sunset as other scholars have argued; it is more encompassing as it includes other times of the day, i.e. midday and midnight, when communal activity took place.

In the last chapter I will investigate further the practice of nocturnal prayer in Second Temple period Judaism to fill in some gaps left in the present chapter regarding night prayer listed in the calendar. I will also demonstrate that prayer at night during the Second Temple period, while not necessarily a daily practice for all Jews, was nonetheless not uncommon.

CHAPTER FIVE

NOCTURNAL PRAYER

1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters we saw repeatedly a *Weltbild* in which the heavenly bodies were believed to coalesce with divine beings. In this chapter I will explore further this *Weltbild* and the practice of nocturnal prayer that presupposed it. I will examine the function of nocturnal prayer and some of the possible settings of ancient Jewish nocturnal prayers and liturgies, with an eye for nocturnal practices that have an established institutional character. The discussion will be divided into two categories that are determined by different concerns inherent in the experience of nighttime in the ancient world: protection and praise. (At times this distinction would have certainly been fused together—praise was often *for* protection—but for heuristic purposes I will maintain such a distinction.) These concerns, I will argue, stem from a *Weltbild* in which both good and evil beings were understood to reside in the heavens and to have the ability to affect, and be affected by, the world below.

In what follows I will argue that, while the routine performance of nocturnal prayer is certainly more likely to be found in contexts characterized by an increase in ritual practice (e.g. the Qumran community, Philo's Therapeutae), a tradition of nocturnal prayer and worship was not uncommon within mainstream Judaism during the Second Temple period. We have, of course, clear references to nocturnal worship within the annual Jewish liturgical cycle, particularly at such festivals as Passover,[1] Booths,[2] Pentecost,[3] and Yom Kippur;[4] in later times too, rabbinic tradition

[1] Cf. R. Krygier, "Veille et sommeil d'Israël: Le rite oublié de la veillée pascale dans la tradition juive," *REJ* 166 (2007): 59–89. Because the exodus, the greatest act of redemption, occurred at night, nighttime has acquired special significance in later Jewish tradition. See, for example, the study of the targumic 'Poem of the Four Nights' (Exod 12:42) in R. Le Déaut, *La Nuit Pascale* (Rome: Institut biblique pontifical, 1963).

[2] Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.204, 206–211; *m. Suk.* 4.5.

[3] Ps-Philo, *L.A.B.* 23:1–3. Worship is not explicitly mentioned during the night, although the passage does connote a nocturnal vigil setting.

[4] *Jub.* 34:13.

repeatedly refers to the importance of prayer and study at night.[5] Comparative evidence from ancient Near Eastern sources can also be found—particularly from cultic settings—that attest to the importance of nocturnal prayer;[6] and in Christianity we see a development in the divine office in which regular nocturnal prayers came to be incorporated in a daily prayer cycle not reserved just for monastic communities or the annual festival cycle (e.g. Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost), but in other settings, some private, and some public, that included priests and the lay community.[7]

1.1. *Preliminary Remarks on the Anthropology of Sleep in the Ancient World*

Before continuing, we must first include a brief but important discussion about the prevalence of nocturnal life in the pre-modern world. In his

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[5] Cf., for example, *b. Ber*. 3a–b; *b. Erub.* 65a; *b. Abod. Zar.* 3b; *Ex. Rab*. 47:5, 8; *Lev. Rab*. 19:1; *Pirqe R. El.* 46; *Tg. Lam*. 2:19. Regarding a possible allusion to Jewish prayer at night in a Roman source, see Juvenal (first century CE), *Satires* 3.268–314. See also J. Taylor, *Where Did Christianity Come From?* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001), 29–33. Here Taylor raises some provocative questions about the episode recorded in Acts 20:6–12 in which Paul held a nocturnal vigil and resurrected Eutychus at dawn. He suggests that the vigil in the story may have a pre-Christian origin as it is not dependent on the person of Jesus.

[6] See, e.g., M. Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practices* (Cuneiform Monographs 25; Leiden: Brill, 2004), esp. the Hellenistic nocturnal ritual text (*TU* 41) published on pp. 245–51; J. Goodnick Westenholz and A. Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem: The Old Babylonian Inscriptions* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). See especially tablet no. C47 which describes night vigils within the daily routine of the temples of the Larsa (I 39; II 52; IV 21; V 27, 37; IX 26). See also A. Mouton, " 'Dead of Night' in Anatolia: Hittite Night Rituals," *Religion Compass* 1 (2007): 1–17; E. Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1995); idem, "Dead of Night," *AS* 16 (1965): 247–51; idem, "Babylonian Celestial Divination," in *Ancient Astronomy and Celestial Divination* (ed. N. Swerdlow; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 21–37; idem, "Plague Amulets and House Blessings," *JNES* 19 (1960): 148–55; A. L. Oppenheim, "A New Prayer to the 'Gods of the Night,' " *AnBib* (Studia Biblica et Orientalia 3) 12 (1959): 282–301.

[7] See the literature cited in R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (2d ed.; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1993), 13ff., 34ff., 165ff.; G. Frank, "Romanos and the Night Vigil in the Sixth Centurgy," in vol. 3 of *A People's History of Christianity: Byzantine Christianity* (ed. D. Krueger; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 59–78; H. Chadwick, "Prayer at Midnight," in *Epektasis: Mélanges Patristiques Offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou* (ed. J. Fontaine and C. Kannengiesser; Paris: Beauchesne, 1972), 47–9. Regarding private prayer, see for example *Canons of Hippolytus* 41:15: "Every one is to be concerned to pray with great vigilance in the middle of the night, because our fathers have said that at that hour all creation gives itself over to glorify God, all the ranks of the angels and the souls of the righteous blessing God" (in, P. Bradshaw, M. Johnson, and L. E. Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002], 201). For an early attestation of an Easter vigil, see *Epistula Apostolorum* 15.

fascinating book on the many customs and cultures associated with nighttime in preindustrial western society, historian A. Roger Ekirch discusses at length human nighttime sleeping patterns (circadian rhythms), which, he argues, occurred often in two intervals or segments.[8] In the days before the advent of inexpensive artificial illumination and modern lighting the length of nighttime exceeded the hours of sleep one typically needed. This, according to Ekirch, created almost universally the experience of sleeping in two segments. From the many sources he has combed through, Ekirch summarizes some of the activities following the segment of first sleep: "Families rose to urinate, smoke tobacco, and even visit close neighbors. Many others made love, prayed, and most important historically, reflected on their dreams, a significant source of solace and self-awareness."[9] So pervasive and common was the phenomenon that the intervals of sleep were often referred to as "first sleep," or sometimes "first nap," or "dead sleep," and "second sleep," or "morning sleep" (see below for further discussion of these terms).[10]

Many customs related to sleep and sleeping patterns are of course culturally and socially determined, but as Ekirch has noted, recent physiological experiments conducted by Thomas Wehr at the National Institute of Mental Health in Maryland have reproduced similar segmented sleeping patterns in human subjects simply by removing artificial light; the results of these experiments suggest a certain universality to this phenomena.[11] Ekirch summarizes Wehr's study and notes that the human beings under observation quickly fell into a pattern of broken sleep, in which they "first lay in bed for two hours, slept for four, awakened again for two or three hours of quiet rest and reflection, and fell back asleep for four hours before finally awakening for good."[12] In between sleep intervals, the subjects often reflected on their dreams, a common activity also noted by Ekirch. Ekirch further writes that:

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[8] A. R. Ekirch, *At Day's Close, Night in Times Past* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), esp. pp. 300–23. See his earlier article, idem, "Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-industrialized Slumber in the British Isles," *The American Historical Review* 106 (2001): 343–86.

[9] Ekirch, *At Day's Close*, xxvi–vii.

[10] Ekirch, *At Day's Close*, 300–2; idem, "Sleep We Have Lost," 363–74.

[11] Cf. Ekirch, *At Day's Close*, 303–4; T. Wehr, "A 'Clock for All Seasons' in the Human Brain," in *Hypothalamic Integration of Circadian Rhythms* (ed. R.M. Buijs, et al.; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1996), 319–40; idem, "The Impact of Changes in Nightlength (Scotoperiod) on Human Sleep," in *Neurobiology of Sleep and Circadian Rhythms* (ed. F. Turek and P. Zee; New York: Marcel Dekker, 1999), 263–85.

[12] Ekirch, *At Day's Close*, 304. In his study Wehr refers to segmented sleep as 'bimodal sleep.'

> Subjects experienced rapid eye movement sleep as they awakened around midnight, with REM being the stage of sleep directly connected to dreaming. What's more, Thomas Wehr has found that, 'transitions to wakefulness are most likely to occur from REM periods that are especially intense,' typically accompanied by 'particularly vivid dreams' distinguished by their 'narrative quality,' which many of the subjects in the experiment contemplated in the darkness.[13]

As we will see further on, dream reflection was a common activity and often regarded as a source of divine communication and revelation in the ancient world.[14] In addition to these studies on sleep physiology, Ekirch points to other modern anthropologists who have noted similar patterns of nighttime sleep in modern societies with little or no artificial illumination; these societies often distinguish between "first sleep" and "second sleep" as in pre-modern European society.[15]

While Ekirch's findings pertaining to pre-industrialized western culture may seem to be too far removed chronologically to shed any light on our period of study, it is notable that Greek and Latin authors also refer to similar sleeping patterns. For specific examples, see Thucydides, *Hist*. 2.2.1.9; 7.43.2.6 in which πρῶτος ὕπνος ("first sleep") is mentioned, as in Plutarch's *Lys.* 28.3 and *Nic*. 5.3. In *Them*. 28.4, Plutarch also refers to segmented sleep: "in the night, in the middle of [or 'in between'] the sleeps" (καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπὸ χᾶρας διὰ μέσων τῶν ὕπνων).[16] In Latin too, we find comparable terms; the phrase *concubia nocte* means "at the time of first sleep," or "dead of night."[17]

In a recent article inspired by Ekirch's book, William Holladay has picked up on the phenomenon of segmented sleep and has found vari-

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[13] Ekirch, "Sleep We Have Lost," 382.

[14] See, for example, W. Harris, *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[15] Cf. Ekirch, *Days Close*, 303; P. Bohannon, "Concepts of Time among the Tiv of Nigeria," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 9 (1953): 253.

[16] See also Aristophanes, *The Wasps* 31: "Well, at the first sleep (πρῶτον ὕπνον), I dreamed in my dream a whole lot of sheep gathering at the gates of the parliament." See also Lucian, *Toxaris or Friendship* 17.2. Cyril of Alexandria, in his *Expositio in Psalmos* interprets Ps 3:5 ("I lie down and sleep; I wake again, for the Lord sustains me") as David waking up after his first sleep to God's salvation (PG 69.729.39).

[17] See *Cassell's Latin-English Dictionary*, sv. *concŭbĭus*. The tenth century CE lexicographer Suidas explains the phrase ἄκρας νυκτὸς ("dead of night") found in Sophocles, *Ajax* 285 ("At dead of night, when the evening lamps no longer burned") as περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον (around first sleep). Cf. A. Adler, ed., *Svidae Lexicon* (Paris: Lipsiae, 1928–38), 1:88 [Adler #957].

ous possible examples in biblical texts.[18] Holladay suggests, for example, that Boaz' conversation with Ruth at midnight (Ruth 3:8) took place after "first sleep." Other scenarios, including Judith's prayer at midnight (12:5), the gospel parable of the friend at midnight who borrows three loaves of bread (Luke 11:5), and the parable of the wise and foolish bridesmaids in Matt 25:1–13, seem to confirm Ekrich's basic premise about segmented sleep and the various possible nocturnal activities that could take place between segments.

Holladay further raises the possibility that the Hebrew noun תרדמה could refer to "first sleep." The word is usually interpreted to refer to supernatural sleep induced by God, such as in Gen 2:21 and 15:12. But as Holladay notes, there are three instances (cf. Job 4:13; 33:15–16; Prov 19:15) where this noun refers only to natural sleep. He raises the possibility that, originally, תרדמה had a meaning of "first sleep," but in those instances where supernatural revelation occurs during sleep, the meaning of תרדמה was extended and modified to include such special circumstances.[19]

In his book, *Sleep, Divine and Human in the Old Testament*, T. McAlpine reaches a conclusion regarding ancient sleeping patterns in ancient Israelite society that coincides with Ekirch's research. He states:

> As for the temporal dimensions of sleep, the dominant picture—particularly from Egypt—is of a life governed by the movement of the sun. One rises with the sun, rests when the sun is at its strongest, and retires for the day with or soon after the sun's setting. But this pattern alone would consign too much of the day to sleep, and so modifications emerge. In the classical world these are attested in the form of lucubrations, the time after cockcrow, but before sunrise. In Israel, these are attested in the psalms which speak of rising during the night or early in the morning for prayer or meditation.[20]

The attestation of lucubrations (nocturnal study) in the ancient world has been noted by others, too. A. Oepke, for example, makes a similar observation in his entry on sleep in *TDNT*, as he writes:

> Both the Greeks and Romans were early risers. They went to sleep at sundown, but woke up with the first crow of the cock. In late autumn and winter this gave some hours to sunrise, 3 to 4 in Rome. These so-called lucubrations

[18] See W. Holladay, "Indications of Segmented Sleep in the Bible," *CBQ* 69 (2007): 215–21.

[19] See also J. Thomson, "Sleep, an Aspect of Jewish Anthropology," *VT* 5 (1955): 421–33, esp. 423.

[20] T. McApline, *Sleep, Divine and Human in the Old Testament* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 115.

> (from the lamp, *lucubrum*, which has died out) are the main period of intellectual activity.[21]

Oepke does not seem to be aware of segmented sleep patterns, but lucubratory activity at the time of cock-crow, which was well before dawn, certainly fits this pattern.[22] Biblical passages such as Josh 1:8 and Ps 1:2 that refer to study and meditation "day and night" leave open the possibility that regular study and worship took place at night; the Qumran community took these verses seriously, citing Josh 1:8 in reference to their own nocturnal vigils (cf. 1QS VI 6: ואל ימש במקום; Josh 1:8: לא ימוש).[23]

In addition to nocturnal study and meditation, the biblical Psalter attests to a distinct collection of lament psalms in which the speaker repeatedly emphasizes his vigilance during the darkness of night and pleads with God for deliverance from affliction and illness (for discussion and bibliography, see Chapter One). The repeated emphasis on nighttime as a time of affliction is not haphazard, but reflects an actual *realia* of a vigil, likely in a temple setting. The innate connection between nighttime and lament can be seen in later times, in which an institution of nocturnal lament developed that included waking, often at midnight, to mourn the destruction of the Jerusalem temple. In *4 Bar.* 2:9–3:13, for example, Jeremiah and Baruch weep in the temple at sixth hour of the

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[21] In, "*katheudō*," *TDNT*, 3:431. There are a number of other passages from the bible that exhibit a close connection between sleeping, praying, and study. See for example Ps 4:5 and Ps 149:5, "Let the faithful exult in glory; let them sing for joy on their couches (משכ־בותם);" *Sib. Or.* 3:591–593; *Let. Aris.* 158–160; *b. Ber*. 4b–5a. See also Plutarch, *Brut.* 36.2, "He would first doze a little in the evening after eating, and then would spend the rest of the night on urgent business. But whenever he had fully met the demands of such business in shorter time, he would read a book until the third watch . . . It was very late at night, his tent was dimly lightened, and all that came was wrapped in silence. Then when he was meditating and reflecting, he thought he heard someone coming into the tent. He turned his eyes towards the entrance and beheld and a strange and dreadful apparition" (LCL).

[22] Cock-crow was typically understood to occur around midnight or slightly after. The ancient Romans designated the hours from midnight to 3am as 'cock-crow' (*gallicinium*), which was the third watch of a four-fold night watch: evening, midnight, cock-crow, and dawn. This system was eventually adopted in ancient Palestine (see Mark 13:35 [ἀλεκτοροφωνία]; *m. Yoma* 1.8 [קריאת הגבר]; Lucian, *The Dream, Or the Cock* 1). See also the horarium in *T. Adam* 1:10–11 in which the rooster beats its wings during the tenth hour of the night, roughly 3am; *3 Bar.* 7:1–2. For a discussion of the four watches in the context of Mark 13:35, see T. Martin, "Watch During the Watches," *JBL* 120 (2001): 685–701; idem, "Time and Money in Translation: A Comparison of the Revised Standard Version and the New Revised Standard Version," *BR* 38 (1993): 60–9.

[23] Cf. S. Fraade, "Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran," *JJS* 44 (1993): 46–69, esp. 56. A phrase similar to Ps 1:2, Josh 1:8, and 1QS VI 7 is found in 4Q418 43 4:]יום ו[לילה הגה ברז נהיה (cf. DJD XXXIV, 255).

night, and in later Jewish tradition, particularly in Lurianic Kabbala (nocturnal lament for the destruction of the temple seems to be alluded to also in *b. Ber.* 3a), a number of night vigils, *tikkunim*, developed not only for annual celebrations of the Festival of Weeks and Passover, but also for daily practice.[24] And, as we will see below, in the broader ancient Near East nocturnal worship was commonplace because this was the time of day most conducive to communicate with celestial deities, to watch for portents, and to ward off evil spirits.

The purpose of this survey of literature is to highlight the fact that the vicissitudes of day and night were much more apparent in the pre-modern world, and that, in recognizing that sleeping patterns of the ancient and pre-modern world were vastly different than today's twenty-four hour world, we gain some perspective on how to understand nocturnal prayer and worship. A sustained culture of nocturnal activities existed in the ancient world, activities such as prayer and study, that for most individuals today have lost a meaningful connection to nighttime. Thus while nocturnal prayer might otherwise appear to be an extremely pious practice reserved only for the truly dedicated, if Ekirch is correct, we should in fact view such practices as much more common in the pre-modern world and conclude that they probably occurred with some regularity.[25]

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[24] The daily vigil developed as a series of supplications and psalms lamenting the destruction of the temple, known as *Tikkun Hazot.* See G. Scholem, "Tradition and New Creation in the Ritual of the Kabbalists," in *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism* (trans. R. Manheim; New York: Schocken, 1965), 146–50; M. Faiersteirn, "Safed Kabbalah and the Sephardic Heritage," in *Sephardic and Mizrahi Jewry: From the Golden Age of Spain to Modern Times* (ed. Z. Zohar; New York: New York University Press, 2005), 204–5; E. Horowitz, "Coffee, Coffee-houses, and the Nocturnal Rituals of Early Modern Jewry," *AJS Review* 14 (1989): 17–46; S. Schechter, "Saints and Saintliness," in *Studies in Judaism* (2d series; Philadelphia, 1908), 154–6.

[25] We could extend the discussion of segmented sleeping patterns into the Late Antique period, especially in light of nocturnal religious practices. For example, the gathering of crowds for nocturnal vigils during Christian festivals, as recorded by Egeria (24.1ff., in J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land* [2d ed.; Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1981], 123) should be understood in light of segmented sleep. Baptismal vigils on Saturday nights (cf. *Ap. Trad.* 21.1ff.) seem to have been quite popular. See the many examples of popular participation of nocturnal worship recounted by R. Taft in his fascinating book *Liturgy in their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It* (Berkeley, CA: InterOrthodox Press, 2007). See for example, pp. 32–3, 35, 42–3, 59, 75, 92–3, 100–1. See note 7 for further references. See also *b. Ber.* 3a–b, which may have been influenced by a practice of nocturnal worship in rabbinic Judaism: R. Zera says of David: "Till midnight he used to slumber like a horse, from thence he rose with the energy of a lion" (Soncino; cf. Ps 119:147).

2. The Influence of Cosmology on Prayer

In the ancient Near East, nocturnal religious activity was deeply rooted in a *Weltbild* in which stars and other astronomical phenomena were believed to be manifestations of cosmic deities.[26] In Babylon stars and planets are often identified by their corresponding gods (e.g., Venus=Ištar); in cuneiform, a pictograph of a star represents both 'star' and 'god.'[27] *Enuma Elish* V 1, the Old Babylonian creation story, describes the origins of the divine assemblage in the heavens as the formation of constellations: "He formed a station for the great gods; Their likenesses, the lumashi-constellations (i.e. Perseus, Cygnus, Orion, Canis Major, Centaurus, Aquila, and Sagittarius), he set up." Similarly *Enuma Anu Enlil* 22 recounts that the gods of the night took their position in the skies at creation:

> When Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods, had created heaven and earth, had made manifest the token, had established the 'stand,' had fixed the 'station,' had appointed the gods of the night, distributed their courses, had [installed] the stars as (astral) counterparts, had designed the 'images,' had [measured] the length of day and night . . .[28]

As Erica Reiner has made abundantly clear in her book *Astral Magic in Babylonia*, this particular understanding of the cosmos, combined with the visibility of the gods at night, provided the underlying impetus for nocturnal religious activities, particularly rituals and prayers addressed to these celestial gods.[29] A few lines from the nocturnal prayer published by Oppenheim in 1959 titled "Prayer to the Gods of the Night" will be illustrative:

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[26] For an introduction to Babylonian astrology, see Franz Cumont's classic, *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans* (New York: Dover Publications, 1960). See further, F. Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Ancient Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); P. Whitfield, *Astrology: A History* (London: The British Library, 2001); O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1957); H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbraums, 1998); T. Barton, *Ancient Astronomy* (London: Routledge, 1994), esp. 9–62, 86–113; S. Noegel, J. Walker, and B. Wheeler, eds., *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (University Park, PN: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003);

[27] See Reiner, *Astral Magic*, 4–5.

[28] In B. Landsberger and J. Wilson, "The Fifth Tablet of Enuma Eliš," *JNES* 20 (1961): 154–79, p. 172.

[29] See note 6.

Šamaš-star [. . .]—star, Marduk—star,
Nabu—star[. . .]—star, Erītu—star,
and enter, you (too) Ištar, great queen—
he who mentions (all of) you (stars) is sure to obtain what he desires . . .

My lips are clean, my hands washed—
The countryside is quiet, the land does not utter a sound,
The cattle have been placed in the folds, the people are asleep,
The doors (of the houses) are locked, the city gates closed—
Even the locks (at the gates) of the great gods are in place.
I have called you, stars in the north, the south, the east and the west—
The famous stars (as well as) the lesser stars that the eyes cannot see . . . [30]

The image described in the prayer of the sleepy city, bolted and locked up, is juxtaposed with the unlocking of the heavenly gates,[31] through which the stars and their associated gods travel during the transitional phases of the day and night. This trope, which occurs with some frequency in ancient Mesopotamian prayers, indicates that the gods of night, symbolized by the stars, must be approached at night. Regarding the actual setting of this prayer, Oppenheim writes: "It is rather obvious that a prayer containing an invocation of the stars is to be recited at night; it is not surprising that it is to be said from the roof of the sanctuary, when other nocturnal rites were performed as many texts tell us."[32] In Anatolia too, we also have abundant attestation of nocturnal religious activity,[33] and the association between gods and astronomical phenomena is well documented in other west Semitic cultures such as Ugarit and Judah, although in Judah we only find brief allusions to nocturnal rituals that are directly related to this particular understanding of the cosmos (see below).[34]

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[30] See A. L. Oppenheim, "A New Prayer to the 'Gods of the Night,' " *AnBib* 12 (Studia Biblica et Orientalia 3; 1959): 287. The motif of the tranquil, sleepy night is common in Babylonian night prayers. Cf. also *KUB* 4 37 and K 3507: "The countryside is quiet, the doors (of the houses are barred, the gates (of the city) closed, the bars are lowered, [the land] does not utter a sound—only the gates of the wide heaven are open, and the great gods of the night that keep watch are [present]. Come in (now), you great stars, gods of the night."

[31] For a discussion of the gates of heaven, see Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 266–7.

[32] Oppenheim, "A New Prayer," 290.

[33] Mouton, " 'Dead of Night,' " 1–17.

[34] See for example, M. Smith, "Astral Religion and the Representation of Divinity: The Cases of Ugarit and Judah," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars*, 187–206; idem, " 'Seeing God' in the Psalms: The Background of the Beatific Vision in the Hebrew Bible," *CBQ* 50 (1988): 171–83; idem, *Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 61–6; idem, "The Near Eastern Background

In studies on nocturnal religious activity, apart from the apparent reason for night rituals—that the appropriate time to address the celestial gods of the night is during nighttime—scholars often note other reasons why religious activity was undertaken at night. One such motive stems from the belief that nighttime brought one within a greater proximity to the deities and spirits. That "when it is night-time and a star twinkles,"[35] a passageway was perceived to open up between the divine world and the human sphere, thereby increasing the effectiveness of the prayer.[36] This, of course, is contingent on the belief that these astral deities had the ability to affect and be affected—that is, to be influenced in someway—by the sublunar world. The Mesopotamian data demonstrates clearly that another motive for nocturnal religious activity was the belief that malevolent spirits were thought to be most active at night, and to counter these activities apotropaic or exorcist rituals should be employed.[37] This purpose is summarized in the final line of the "Prayer to the Gods of the Night:" through sacrifice and appeasement, the priest requests that "any evil portent" be kept "from affecting a person."[38] Finally, it is often noted that the silence of nighttime provided the right conditions for certain rituals in which the formulation of words was of paramount importance.[39]

The ubiquity of nocturnal worship in the broader ancient Near East stands in stark contrast to Israel's monotheistic cult where there was an attempt to excise the astral religious practices of Israel's neighbors and the association between the celestial luminaries and deities. Biblical authors such as Jeremiah, the Deuteronomist, and the Priestly writer declare the

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of Solar Language for Yahweh," *JBL* 109 (1990): 29–39; O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (trans. T. Trapp; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1998), esp. ch. 8, "The Astralization of the Heavenly Powers, the Revival of the Goddess, and the Orthodox Reaction: Iron Age IIC (pp. 283– 372); A. Jefferies, *Magic and Divination in ancient Palestine and Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 149–55; I. Zatelli, "Astrology and the Worship of the Stars in the Bible," *ZAW* 103 (1991): 86–99.

35 Cf. Mouton, " 'Dead of Night'," 3, 7, 11.

36 Mouton, " 'Dead of Night'," 3.

37 See Reiner's chapters, "The Role of the Stars," and "Nocturnal Rituals," in *Astral Magic*, 15–24, 133–44.

38 Oppenheim, "A New Prayer," 289.

39 Reiner, "Dead of Night," *AS* 16 (1965): 247–51, 249; Mouton, " 'Dead of Night'." Silence could also be imposed to ensure the effectiveness of sacrifice. See also *PGM* XIII. 122–7, where we find a description of a magic ritual that takes place "in the middle of the night in the fifth hour, when it is quiet . . ." Cf. H. D. Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including Demotic Spells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 175 [*PGM* XIII 120–30]; see also *T. Adam* 1:12.

stars to be inanimate; the reforms of Josiah targeted astral practices.[40] Officially, at least according to some of these biblical writers, this seems to have worked.[41] Yet the constant condemnation of astral worship practices in biblical texts attests to the tenacity of these beliefs, at least at a popular or local level. Passages such as Jer 10:2, 19:13, 32:29, 2 Kgs 23:13, Isa 47:12–13, and Zeph 1:5 explicitly condemn rooftop altars, a familiar setting for astral religious practices and nocturnal religious activity.[42]

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[40] Cf. B. Halpern, "Late Israelite Astronomies and the Early Greeks," in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel and their Neighbors—From the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina* (ed. W. Dever and S. Gitin; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 323–52; idem, "The Assyrian Astronomy of Genesis 1 and the Birth of Milesian Philosophy," *ErIsr* 27 (2003): 74–83; M. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism*, 61–6. In the bible see, for example, 2 Kgs 21:5, a verse which reports that the young Israelite king Menasseh, "built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord." Later in 2 Kgs 23:5 it is reported that those priests that "made offerings to Baal, to the sun, the moon, the constellations, and all the host of the heavens" were deposed of by Josiah. Likewise in Jer 8:2, the bones of those that worshipped the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven were taken from their graves and spread out upon the earth before these luminaries, the purpose being to erase any memory of their existence.

[41] For example, the author of Exodus identifies the heavenly host in Exod 12:41 (יצאו כל צבאות יהוה) as Israelites, rather than heavenly beings. In Deut 4:13–18 Moses reminds the Israelites that they saw no form when God gave them the ten commandments, that revelation came aurally, and that the Israelites should not be lead astray, "when you look up to the heavens and see the sun, the moon, and the stars, all the host of heaven." Deut 17:3 prohibits again this type of worship. Gen 1:14–18 is often read in this light, as v. 16 states that God made the two great lights (i.e. the sun and moon) and the stars. That the names of the two great lights are not given is often interpreted in light of the theological concerns of the priestly writer, as these names also represent deities. See *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, s.v. Shemesh, s.v. Helios, s.v. Moon (ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

In other biblical texts, however, stars are prominently featured and understood positively. The conflict between these different theological perspectives can be seen in such passages as Jud 5:20, in which the stars defend Israel against hostile powers. See also the account of this episode in Ps-Philo, *L.A.B.* 31:1ff., where action on the part of the stars is paramount for Israel's success.

[42] See Oppenheim, "A New Prayer to the 'Gods of the Night,' " 290. Rooftops of ancient Near Eastern temples were commonly used for cultic rituals related to astrology. Cf. M. Smith, "Helios in Palestine," *ErIsr* 16 (1982): 199–214; A. Negev, "The Staircase-Tower in Nabatean Architecture," *ErIsr* 11 (1973): 197–207; R. Ami, "Temples à Escaliers," *Syria* 28 (1950): 82–136; Strabo also mentions this as a practice of the Nabateans, although here the rooftop is connected with sun worship (*Geogr.* 16.4.26: "They worship the sun, building an altar on the top of the house, and pouring libations on it daily and burning frankincense" [LCL]). Mouton also cites a Hittite rooftop ritual that was prescribed for the night (*KUB* 55.39 i 13–20) in 'Dead of Night,' (p. 12). Josephus, *Ant.* 8.70 reports that Solomon's temple contained a staircase leading to the roof. *M. Mid.* 4.5 also reports a temple staircase to access the roof. The idyllic version of the Jerusalem temple in *Temple Scroll* XXIX reports a tower staircase (plated in gold), which M. Smith argues functioned as an access to the rooftop to worship the sun (cf. "Helios in Palestine"). It is not clear whether the rooftop of the Jerusalem temple was utilized for religious activity.

By the time of the Second Temple period, however, this mythical worldview in which the heavens are filled with divine beings associated with stars—both good and bad—comes more to the fore, now incorporated into a monotheistic framework. The stars and their celestial counterparts, while still having power and ability to affect the sublunar world, now must ultimately answer to God.[43] In a creation account in the *Hodayot* (1QH[a] IX 2–15) the hymnist declares to God:

> You formed [11] every spirit, and [their] work [you determin]ed, and the judgment for all their deeds. You yourself stretched out the heavens
> [12] for your glory, and all [ ] you [de]termined according to your will, and powerful spirits according to their laws, before
> [13] they came to be ho[ly] angels [and]*m* eternal spirits in their dominions: luminaries according to their mysteries,
> [14] stars according to [their] paths, [stor]m [winds] according to their task, shooting stars and lightning according to their service, and storehouses
> [15] devised for th[eir] purposes [ ] according to their mysteries.[44]

This account of creation is similar to *Jubilees* 2 (cf. also *1 En.* 75:3; *2 En.* 4:1–2), although in the *Hodayot* the connection between the stars and angels is much more clearly established (lines 13–14). Other good examples of

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[43] D. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1974), 235ff.; K. von Stuckrad, *Das Ringen um die Astrologie: Jüdische und christliche Beiträge zum antiken Zeitverständnis* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 168–80; M. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 173–84; J. Collins, "Powers in Heaven: God, Gods, and Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Collins, R. Kugler; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 9–28; M. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings From Qumran* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992); M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (STDJ 67; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

Note Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees: Foundations of Post-Biblical Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1962), 49: "Theophrastus (372–287 BCE) states that the Jews celebrate their festivals at night in contemplation of the stars (the order of heavenly bodies was for the philosophers the most important proof against atheism) and discourse about the divine." Bickerman does not cite his source although he is referring to Porphyry's work, *De abstinentia* 2.26, in which Porphyry quotes Theophrastes' lost work *On Piety*: "At night they [i.e. the Jews] contemplate the stars, gazing at them and calling on God in their prayers" (translation from *Porphyry: On Abstinence from Killing Animals* [trans. G. Clark; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000], 65). See M. Satlow's recent article, "Theophrastus's Jewish Philosophers," *JJS* 48 (2008): 1–20. Satlow suggests that Theophrastus's comments about contemplating the stars comes from a belief, based on the testimony of another Greek thinker, Hecataeus of Abdera, that the Jews were aniconic. Hecateaus states that Moses "had no images whatsoever of the gods made from them, being of the opinion that God is not in human form; rather the Heaven that surrounds the earth alone is divine, and rules the universe" (trans. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, no. 11, trans. 1:28).

[44] DJD XL, 130.

the association between astronomical phenomena and angels are found in the following passages: *1 En.* 82:9–20;[45] 1Q20 VII 2 ("... every heavenly body: the sun, the moon, and the stars, and the Watchers"); 4Q511 2 i 8 ("ang[els of] his glorious lights"); 4Q503 7–9 3–4; 4Q408 3 + 3a 5–11; 4Q502 27 3; 4Q88 X 5–6.[46]

The association of stars with celestial beings emerges particularly in the forefront of apocalyptic literature. Numerous apocalyptic texts circulating at this time, most especially the Enochic *Book of the Watchers* (*1 En.* 1–36), account for the origins of evil as coming from the heavens through misguided angels, the Watchers. Humans were taught illicit knowledge such as metallurgy, cosmetics, and astrology (e.g. *1 En.* 8; *Jub.* 8:3–4) from these angels, and the descendants of the Watchers and their offspring, not quite human, not quite angelic, were believed to be the source of demonic influence that could physically afflict the righteous (e.g. *Jub.* 6:5; 11:4–6).[47] The *Book of the Watchers* further recounts that some of the stars rebelled from God's created order by following their own path: "transgressing the commandment of the Lord at the beginning of their rising, they did not come forth at their proper times" (*1 En.* 18:13–16).

This mythically conceived cosmos, both in the configuration of the deities as celestial beings, and in the deities' ability to affect the human world, made its way into the prayer traditions of the Second Temple period, particularly in the recitation and timing of apotropaic and incantational prayers to ward off affliction and demonic spirits.[48] While

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[45] See also, e.g., *1 En.* 18:15; 21:6; 41:7; 86:1–4; 88:1; 90:24. See L. Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'God:' Exploring the Limits of Early Christian Monotheism," in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism* (ed. L. Struckenbruck and W. North; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 51 n. 22. For a discussion of this passage and the relationship between stars and angels, see J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 25ff.

[46] Cf. also Rev 1:20. See the discussion in L. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 56ff., 62, 107, 232.

[47] P. Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:331–53, esp. 337–41; See also the dicussion in D. S. Russell's chapter on angels and demons in, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 235–57, esp. 127, 251; A. Toepel, "Planetary Demons in Early Jewish Literature," *JSP* 14 (2005): 231–8; A. Wright, *The Origins of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1–4 in Early Jewish Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

[48] Cf. E. Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. E. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 78; P. Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls."

apotropaic and incantational prayers may not have been limited exclusively to nighttime, we do find an emerging body of Second Temple period texts in which prayers were said specifically at nighttime in an effort to protect oneself from harm.

As already seen in Chapter One, the association of nighttime with evil and the use of prayer to protect oneself is found within an earlier tradition of nocturnal vigils in the Psalms, particularly in the lament psalms (e.g. Pss 5; 16; 17; LXX 21 [MT 22];[49] 27; 42; 57; 59; 63; 77; 88; 130; 143; see also Ps 119:62, 148; Lam 2:19; Isa 26:9); in these psalms evil and affliction are associated with the nighttime, and justice and salvation with the dawn.[50] This tradition was carried forward into the Second Temple period. In a hymn in the *Hodayot*, for example, lament and nighttime correspond, although the source of affliction is not stated. 1QH^a XVII 2–4 states: "[to shine] forth for discord at night and *b* [ ] . . . My bed cries out in lamentation, [and my] pa[llet] with the sound of sighing."

While evil perpetrators in the biblical psalms lack an overtly spiritual or metaphysical character—they are often simply referred to as 'evildoers' (Pss 5:6; 6:9; 59:2, 6 [כל פעלי און]), 'wicked' (Ps 17:9 [רעשים]), 'evil ones'

[49] See Chapter One for a discussion of this psalm.

[50] For discussion of these psalms, see Chapter One. The motif in which nighttime is associated with evil is ubiquitous and folkloric. Although the association of good and bad celestial beings with stars emerges most prominently in the Second Temple period, it would be misrepresentative to suggest that the relationship between nighttime and demonic attack stems solely from this particular cosmology. Evil in early lament psalms, while often associated with darkness, lacks demonic and astrological characteristics. Moreover, the folkloric association of nocturnal animals with demons, while certainly used to explain illness and malady, does not seem to be found in explanations regarding the cosmic origins of evil. For general studies on association between danger and nighttime, see for example, W. Fields, "The Motif 'Night as Danger' Associated with Three Biblical Destruction Narratives," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992): 17–32; B. Spaeth, "The Terror that Comes in the Night: The Night Hag and Supernatural Assault in Latin Literature," in *Sub Imagine Somni: Nighttime Phenomena in Greco-Roman Culture* (ed. Emma Scioli and Christine Walde; Pisa: ETS, 2010), 231–58. For the association between demons and nocturnal animals, see for example Isa 34:14; see also D. Penny and M. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560)," *JBL* 113 (1994): 643, n. 68. For examples in which nighttime and demonic activity are associated, see the 'call' of Samuel in Ps-Philo's *L.A.B.* 53, and the episode of Tobit and Sarah's wedding night in Tobit 8.

For rabbinic examples that nighttime is commonly regarded as a time of demonic affliction, see *b. Ber.* 3a–b, 54b; *b. Hullin* 91a. *B. Ber.* 54b provides a list of persons that require protection against demons: "A sick person, a midwife, a bridegroom and a bride; some add, a mourner, and some add further, scholars at night" [Soncino ed.]; *B. Ber.* 6a provides directions for a magical ritual on how one can see demons at night. Naturally, nighttime was considered more propitious for magic: cf. *Gen. Rab.* 77.2–3.

(27:2 [מרעים]), 'adversary' (Ps 27:12 [צר]), 'those who trample' (Ps 57:4 [שאפי]), and 'enemies' (Ps 143:3 [אויב])—by the time of the Second Temple period, some of these terms were used to describe demons who cause spiritual affliction and physical malady.[51] In many texts, the cause of human suffering is now understood to have a celestial origin. In 4Q230 1 5–6, for example, the term "evil doers" (פועל[י און])—once a common term in the lament psalms—appears in a catalogue listing evil spirits.[52] This term, along with 'enemies' (אואבים), is also found in *Apostrophe to Judah* (4Q88) X 11–12 within a context describing the defeat of Belial. In 1QH[a] XXV 6, a hymn recounting the punishment of the Watchers, "spirits of wickedness" are condemned (רוחות רשעה), and in 11Q5 XIX 15–16, an apotropaic plea for protection against evil spirits who cause physical harm, the hymnist states, "Let not Satan rule over me, nor an unclear spirit; neither let pain nor the evil inclination (ויצר רע) take possession of my bones."[53]

A good example of the connection between demonic affliction and nighttime can be found in the *Genesis Apocryphon* XX 12–16, where we read that, in response to Abram's prayer for protection on Sarai's behalf, God sends an evil spirit (רוח באישא) to Pharaoh to afflict (נגע)[54] him and his entire household during the night to ensure Sarah's chastity.[55] Pharaoh

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[51] It may be that the lament genre was foundational in the development of apotropaicism and incantation. The motif of lament occurs in 11Q11 I 2, a document consisting of incantations, as it contains the word]ובוכהו[, "the one who laments/weeps." In 11Q5 XIX 12, an apotropaic hymn, we find recourse to the language of seeking refuge "in Your shade,"—language that occurs frequent in lament psalms (see Pss 17:8; 27:5; 57:1. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary* [trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988], 54).

[52] Cf. E. Tigchelaar, "Catalogue of Spirits, Liturgical Manuscript with Angelological Content, Incantation? Reflections on the Character of a Fragment from Qumran (4Q230 1), with Appendix: Edition of the Fragments of IAA #114," in *A Kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New Testament and Its Religious Environment* (ed. M. Labahn and B. Peerbolte; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 133–46.

[53] The notion that physical illness and calamity are caused by demons and evil spirits is clearly seen in 4Q560 1 i 3. This text is an incantation meant to protect one from male and female demons who "enter into the body." See also 11Q11 V 5–6 and 4Q444 1–4 i + 5 8 (מ]מזרים ורוח הטמאה).

[54] This term נגע occurs frequently in anti-demon texts. 11Q11 VI 8, for example, adapts MT 91:7 (אליך לא ינש) to read אל]יך לו[א יגע, "upon you it shall not touch."

[55] Is the illness related to sexual malfunction? D. Engelhard has suggested that because nighttime was associated with sexual activity, it was also an appropriate time to perform rituals to counteract sexual malfunction (*Hittite Magical Practices: An Analysis* [PhD Dissertation, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA, 1970], 204–10); see also, M. Hutter, "Demons and Benevolent Spirits in the Ancient Near East," in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception* (ed. F. V. Reiterer, T. Nicklas and Karin Schöpflin; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 28–9.

Zoan's attempt to alleviate his sickness by calling on magicians (אשף) (see XX 19)—in addition to physicians (אסה) and wise men (חכים)—indicates that he thought that his affliction had possible astrological origins, as the term אשף, often translated as enchanter, sorcerer, or exorcist, is usually associated with astrology.[56] While this story lacks incantation or exorcism, it again demonstrates a strong association of demonic affliction with nighttime. Within a Jewish monotheistic framework, however, only God can alleviate the illness—the astrologers have no effect.[57]

I suggest that the correlation between demonic attack and nighttime in the *Genesis Apocryphon* reflects a cosmology in which one is considered most susceptible to attacks from demonic spirits at nighttime—a view that spurred the development of prayers for protection and their recitation at night. In what follows is a closer look at a group of texts from the Second Temple period—Ps-Philo's *L.A.B.* 60:1ff., *Jub.* 12:16–27, and 11Q11 V—that demonstrates the impact of such a cosmology on the practice of prayer, particularly the practice of reciting prayers at night for the purpose of protection against demonic spirits.

3. Prayers for Protection

3.1. *Ps-Philo*, L.A.B. *60:1–3*

Some of the earliest scriptural evidence for affliction caused by an evil spirit comes from 1 Sam 16:14–23: "Now the spirit of the Lord had departed

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[56] In *HALOT*, (p. 1827) אשף is related the Akkadian *āšipu*, which was a professional class of magicians in Mesopotamia associated with astrological and other magical practices for the purpose of healing. See the entry "Illness and Other Crises," in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* (ed. S. Iles Johnston; Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 452–69, esp. 456–8; E. Ritter, "Magical-Expert (=*āšipu*) and Physician (=*asû*): Notes on Two Complementary Professions in Babylonian Medicine," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965* (ed. H. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 299–321. See Tanḥ. Mikketz 2 (ed. Buber), a text in which the verbal form אשף is interpreted as "to lay stress," and thus, with reference to Dan 2:2, אשף is explained as "those who lay stress on the planetary constellations" (cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* [New York: Judaica Press, 1996], 129).

[57] The negative view towards astrology pervades *Jubilees* and Enochic literature where such knowledge was understood to have been learned from the fallen heavenly Watchers (cf. *1 En.* 8:3; *Jub.* 8:1–4; see the discussion in A. Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* [ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 399ff.).

from Saul, and an evil spirit (רוח רעה) from the Lord began to terrify him." Whereas the time of day in this story is not mentioned in the biblical account, Ps-Philo (*L.A.B.* 60:1–3) recasts this episode at night: "Saul sent and brought David, and he played a song on his lyre by night."[58] Ps-Philo further adds that David sang an adjuratory song to accompany the music that directly addresses the demon:

> Darkness and silence were before the world was made, and silence spoke and the darkness became visible. The foundation was created by the fastening together of what had been spread out; its upper part was called heaven and the lower earth. The upper part was commanded to bring down rain according to its season and the lower was commanded to produce food for all created things. After this was the tribe of your spirits made. Now do not be troublesome, since you are a secondary creation.[59]

Murphy suggested that the nocturnal setting of this episode implies that David somehow received special revelation, as nighttime was also favorable for this type of divine communication.[60] Instead of nocturnal revelation, however, I suggest that Ps-Philo added the nocturnal setting because of its close association with the activities of malevolent beings. This same association between nighttime and spiritual harm is found in the episode of the 'call of Samuel' in *L.A.B.* 53, a call which Eli suspects to be demonic because it occurs at nighttime.[61] Exorcisms were certainly not restricted to nighttime; yet, this did not negate the belief that demons were most active at night—particularly those demons connected to astrological phenomena—and that nocturnal apotropaic practices were an available means of protection.

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[58] Trans. H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's* Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum: *With Latin Text and English Translation* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1:187. Jacobson adds that nighttime would be the appropriate time to get rid of the evil spirit that attacked at night; see Jacobson, *A Commentary*, 2:1173. In *Ant.* 6.166, Josephus recalls the story but gives no indication of the time of day. See also J. Strugnell, "More Psalms of David," *CBQ* 27 (1965): 207–16.

[59] Jacobson, *A Commentary*, 1:187–8. *OTP* II, 373 translates: "Now do not be troublesome as one created on the second day." Instead of a reference to the second day of creation, Jacobson translates "you are a secondary creation" (*secunda creatura*) because the preceding text explicitly mentions that the evil spirit's tribe was made after the creation of vegetation.

[60] F. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 208.

[61] Eli instructs Samuel that if the source calls twice it is demonic, but if it calls three times it is angelic. (Is this distinction made because of the trisagion in Isa 6:3, where angels repeat "holy, holy, holy"?)

The appeal to creation in David's hymn in this text is common in exorcisms and apotropaic prayer;[62] the purpose is to recall the origins of the offending spirit and its place within the hierarchy of creation. In David's recounting of creation, the supreme authority of God is reestablished which compels the demon to surrender and leave.[63] Such an act also recalls the cosmogonic origins of the demon, connecting the creation of his tribe with the creation of the luminaries on the fourth day, thus underlining the celestial origins of Saul's affliction. This connection between demons and luminaries is made in David's chronological recounting of the creation story, where he states that *after* the "lower part was commanded to produce food"—a reference to the third day—"a tribe of your spirits was made," which suggests that the tribe was created on the fourth day.[64] In light of the fact that the creation of both stars and demons falls on the same day, it would seem that the cause of Saul's affliction was caused by a nighttime demon whose origins are to be found ultimately in a non-earthly realm.[65]

3.2. Jub. *12:16–27*

Another episode that connects evil spirits and their astral counterparts with nighttime is found in *Jub*. 12:16–27. Here the author recounts that

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[62] See *Jub.* 12:16–27; Tob 8:4–8; 11Q11 II 10–12 (DJD XXIII); 1QGenAp XX 12–13. Cf. L. Stuckenbruck, "Prayers of Deliverance from the Demonic in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Early Jewish Literature," in *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and Other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity* (ed. I. Henderson and G. Oegema; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2006), 146–65. Eshel remarks that appeals to the mighty acts of God more generally are common within magical texts (E. Eshel, "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen: die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* [ed. A. Lange, D. Römheld, and H. Lichtenberger; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck], 404–5).

[63] Perhaps this motif underlines the Greeks translator's decision to translate Ps 95:5 ("For all the gods of the peoples are idols, but the Lord made the heavens;" כי כל אלהי העמים אלילים ויהוה שמים עשה) as: "For all the gods of the nations are demons, but the Lord made the heavens" ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια ὁ δὲ κύριος τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησεν. Not only does this translation clarify the meaning of "idols" as "demons," but it also maintains the primacy of Israel's God as master over these demons because God created the heavens, thereby connecting these demons to the celestial realm as in Ps-Philo 6off. (also see the preceding verse, LXX 95:4).

[64] See also *b. Pes.* 112a which connects demonic activity to the fourth night of the week.

[65] Cf. M. Kister, "Tohu wa-Bohu, Primordial Elements, and Creatio ex Nihilo," *JSQ* 14 (2007): 229–56. In this article Kister makes the case that in the Dead Sea Scrolls, "tohu wa-bohu, together with darkness (and probably also tehom), were conceived of as the origins of evil" (p. 236).

when Abram lived in Ur he observed the stars from evening to dawn, "to see what would be the character of the year with respect to the rains."[66] While gazing at the stars during the night, however, Abram realized that, "All the signs of the stars and signs of the moon and sun—all are under the Lord's control." He then says the following plea to God that night:

> My God, my God, God most High,
> You alone are my God.
> Your have created everything;
> Everything that was and has been is the product of your hands.
> You and your lordship I have chosen.
> Save me from the power of the evil spirits who rule the thoughts of people's minds.
> May they not mislead me from following you, my God.
> Do establish me and my posterity forever.
> May we not go astray from now until eternity.

Clearly this prayer demonstrates a connection between astrological practices and evil spirits, as, after Abram realizes God's supremacy over the celestial luminaries, he renounces astrology and asks God to save him from the hands of evil spirits "which rule over the thoughts and hearts of man."[67] This prayer indicates that Abram believed that the stars have the ability to affect the sublunar world below. That this plea was made at night is not incidental, since the belief in astral deities and the science of astrology was predicated upon actually seeing the stellar constellations and their movements.

There are other notable apotropaic motifs in Abram's prayer. Like David in Ps-Philo *L.A.B.* 60:1ff, Abraham appeals to God as creator ("you created everything . . .") as a means of protection. The Shema-like language in this text is also intriguing, particularly Abram's declaration in v. 16 "you alone are God to me" and his allegiance to God's kingdom. The declaration in Deut 6:4 יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד can be interpreted in different ways,[68] yet the context of Abram's prayer, which presupposes the existence of other, lesser, deities in the celestial realm, renders Abram's declaration to

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[66] Translation of Jubilees is from J. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Scriptores Aethiopici 88; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989), 71–2.

[67] For a discussion of these passages, see A. Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," 383, 402–3; Stuckenbruck, "Prayers of Deliverance," 158.

[68] E.g. 1) YHWH is our God, YHWH is one; 2) YHWH is our God, YHWH is alone; YHWH our God is one YHWH; 4) YHWH our God, YHWH is one. See Weinfeld's discussion in *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 337.

be more of a statement of monolatry, not monotheism. Moreover, while Abram's prayer should first and foremost be understood as a prayer of religious conversion, which in the ancient world often included a ritual of exorcism,[69] the inclusion of declaring God's oneness served also to protect him from demonic forces.[70]

3.3. *11Q11 V*

Whereas the previous two examples of nocturnal prayer were taken from narratives, 11Q11 (11QapocrPs) is an actual ritual text comprised of four apocryphal psalms, the purpose of which is to exorcise demons.[71] While quite fragmentary, each of these psalms envisions a cosmic setting that involves confrontation between forces of good and evil. Besides

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[69] See M. Kister's discussion of baptism and exorcism in "Demons, Theology, and Abraham's Covenant," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* (ed. R. Kugler and E. Schuller; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999), 176–7. It is noteworthy that in early Christianity, in the *Canons of Hippolytus* 21:1–8, the baptism of 'conversion' takes place at night, but before the baptism one is anointed with the oil of exorcism and says, "I renounce you, Satan, and all your service." The text goes on to say that "When he has said that, the presbyter anoints him with the oil of exorcism that has been blessed, so that every evil spirit may depart from him" (trans. Bradshaw and Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition*, 113, 115). Also see Gal 4:3 where Paul writes that through baptism Christians are no longer "slaves to the elements of this world." Of course, there is some speculation over the language of "elemental spirits," but see H. D. Betz (and bibliography cited there): "the κόσμος ("world") was thought to be composed of four or five "elements," which are not simply material substances, but demonic entities of cosmic proportions and astral powers which were hostile towards man" (in, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979], 205).

[70] For the apotropaic use of Deut 6:4, see E. Eshel, H. Eshel, and A. Lange. "'Hear, O Israel' in Gold: An Ancient Amulet from Halbturn in Austria," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 1 (2010): 43–64; see also *b. Ber.* 5a. where it is recorded that when recited at night upon one's bed, the Shema will protect one from demonic attack. While I am not suggesting that this passage from *Jubilees* attests to a Shema liturgy, or that it is formally connected to *b. Ber.* 5a, the use of Deut 6:4 in this passage is striking.

[71] See J. van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11QPsAp^a)," in *Tradition und Glaube. Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn* (ed. G. Jeremias, H. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 128–39; É. Puech, "11QPsAp^a: Un rituel d'exorcismes. Essai de reconstruction," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 377–408; idem, "Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme 11QPsAp^a IV 4–V 14," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research. Papers Read at a Symposium Sponsored by Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi at the University of Haifa and at Tel Avivi University March 20–24, 1988* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 64–89; idem, "Les Psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme (11Q11)," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. D. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E. Schuller; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 160–81.

the numerous references to the heavens (II 10; III 6; IV 3; V 5), angels continually reemerge (11Q11 V 8: שׂר הצּבא יהוה), playing a role in this cosmic drama.[72] In columns II–III we find a discussion of the works of creation, and the hymnist recalls that God, "made] the heavens [and the earth, and all that is in them, w]ho separated [ ] [light from darkness]" (II 10–12).[73] Further in III 2–3 the phrase appears, "Who m[ade . . .] these port[ents] and won[ders . . ." (ll. 2–3: מי ע[שה את האותות /ואת המופ[תים האלה), a reference to celestial phenomena and God's rule over them (מופת is often paralleled with אות as a "sign" in the heavens, further indicating its celestial character [cf. HALOT, s.v. מופת]).[74] As in Ps-Philo, recalling that creation, including the celestial order, exists by God's hand requires that the demon must ultimately submit to God's authority.[75]

The psalm in column V is the third psalm in this collection. In lines 6–7 the speaker addresses the demon directly, "Who are you, [oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly one]s? Your face is a face of delusion and your horns are horns of a dre[a]m, you are darkness and not light."[76] The setting for this confrontation with the demon is described in the previous lines, 11Q11 V 4–5:

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[72] Like 11Q11 V 5, the incantation found in 8Q5 1 4 refers to heavenly constellations (ים]לות השמ[ז]למ[) within the context of adjuration against demons, although there is no mention of night in the surviving fragments (cf. M. Baillet, DJD III, 135–36).

[73] This phrase is highly reconstructed but the context is fairly recognizable. See DJD XXIII, 189–92.

[74] See DJD XXIII, 192. As the editors of 11Q11 in DJD XXIII note, the meaning of מופת is not certain because in the Hebrew Bible מופת is not used to describe the "wondrous acts of creation" (p. 194). In the present context though, its use in the description of the creation of the heavens is suggestive of a reference to celestial phenomena, particularly the configuration of the heavenly luminaries. See also 4Q416 I 1–9, especially lines 7–8, a text that, according to Eibert Tigchelaar, interprets Gen 1:14 "in an astrological manner" (p. 43ff.). In E. Tigchelaar, " 'Lights Servings as Signs for Festivals' (Genesis 1:14b) in Enūma Eliš and Early Judaism," in *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretations of Genesis I in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity, and Modern Physics* (ed. G. H. van Kooten; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 31–48. Does אנשי מופת in 1QH^{a} VIII 9, 4Q437 2 i 12 refer to magicians/astrologers? ("And the congregation of men of portent [אנשי מופת] you have made sit before me").

[75] See also note 62.

[76] See F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.II: (11Q2–18, 11Q20–31)* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 198. The editors translate the phrase ם]ו[קרניך חל as "your horns are horns of ill[us]ion." I prefer the translation "your horns are horns of a dream" which captures better the nocturnal setting of demonic affliction.

4 לדויד ע[ל ל]חֹשׁ[77] בשם יהו[ה קרא בכו]ל עת
5 אל השמ[ים כי]יבוא אליך בלי[לה וא]מרתה אליו
6 מי אתה [היל]וד מ[אדם ומזרע הקד]וש[י]ם פניך פני
7 [שו]ו וקרנ[יך] קרני חל[ו]ם חושך אתה ולוא אור...

4 Of David. A[gainst An incanta]tion in the name of YHW[H. Invoke at an]y time
5 the heav[ens. When]he comes to you in the nig[ht,] you will say to him:
6 "Who are you, [oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly one]s? Your face is a face of
7 [delu]sion and your horns are horns of ill[us]sion, and are darkness and not light... (trans. DJD XXIII)

A nocturnal setting requires the reconstruction in line 5: יבוא אליך בלי[לה. I accept this reconstruction as do a majority of other scholars.[78] Puech has made the unlikely suggestion that the word should be reconstructed as בלי[על ("viendra à toi Béli[al,]"), and thus the perpetrator from whom the hymnist seeks protection.[79] He reasons that, because Ps 91:5–6 is quoted

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[77] The word לחש denotes the idea of whispering and incantation—two ideas that find confluence with one another (Ps 41:8; 58:5; Isa 3:3; Jer 8:17). H. Versnel notes that while prayers were typically audible in the ancient world, one would whisper a prayer if it was malicious, such as a curse. He states: "Now there is nothing very attractive about wishing out loud in a temple *magna stante corona* that a neighbor, rival or emperor should die as soon as possible. Yet this was a normal component of the various wishes expressed and in such cases it was customary to murmur the prayer between one's lips, or to say it in complete silence, so that they connection between silent prayer and evil became a *topos* in literature." See Versnel, "Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer," in *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (ed. H. Versnel; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 25–6. For a discussion about praying audibly in antiquity, see P. W. van der Horst, "Silent Prayer in Antiquity," *Numen* 41 (1994): 1–25. Obviously the intent is 11Q11 is not malicious; rather, the term לחש suggests the words of the prayer were considered to be potent such that an audience may have been restricted.

[78] See e.g. DJD XXIII, 198–200; M. Pajunen, "The Function of 11QPsAp[a] as a Ritual," in *Text and Ritual: Papers Presented at the Symposium* Text and ritual *in Copenhagen in November 2008* (ed. A. Katrine Gudme; Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2009), 52; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 454; E. Tigchelaar, "Catalogue of Spirits," 141.

[79] Puech's reconstruction בלי[על, however, is unlikely for a number of reasons. While demonic attack is not limited to nighttime (see below), the verb יתלונן in Ps 91:1, taken literally, means "to pass the night" (cf. Job 39:28; LXX Ps 90:1, αὐλισθήσεται). This verb reinforces the notion that the speaker of Ps 91 is seeking God's protection from the afflicting grip of nighttime (Psalm 91 was considered an anti-demon text by the rabbis, as was Psalm 3 [*y. Shabb.* 6.2], both of which evoke a nocturnal setting. Ps 3:5 states: "I lay down and slept; I awoke, for the Lord sustains me"). Moreover Belial never appears in 11Q11, which is not surprising as Belial was rarely (if ever?) understood to be the source of demonic illness (although see 11Q11 II 5 where Puech reconstructs Belial: בליעל] הואה א]שר[מושל]על תהו[ם חוש]ך in Puech, "11QPsAp[a]: Un rituel d'exorcismes," 381–2]). Rather it is those demons underneath him—the sons of Belial (רוחות, ממזרים, שדים)—that cause such an affliction. The reference to the mixture of "the offspring of man and seed of the holy ones" implied in line 6 further excludes the reconstruction בלי[על, as

in the following column (11Q11 VI), and because in Ps 91 demonic attack occurs during the day and night, the setting in 11Q11 V 5 could not be limited only to nighttime.[80]

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these demons appear to be below Belial in the hierarchy of principalities. On the hierarchy of demons, see P. Alexander, " 'Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places:' Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. Porter and C. Evans; London: Continuum, 1997), 327–8; Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 337–41; a similar hierarchy is also discussed in J. Z. Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," *ANRW II.16.1* (1978): 425–39.

There are a number of additional reasons why the reconstruction בלי[על is unlikely. For example, the hymnist appears to be seeking protection from a plurality of demons, not one specific spiritual entity. These demons include] רו[חות]והשדים (11Q11 II 3). "Sons of Belial" are mention in VI 3 (בני בל[יעל [), but Belial is never mentioned. As P. Alexander has pointed out, these demons, while they are part of Belial's entourage and do his bidding, are ontologically different than Belial. In *1 En.* 15:11–16 immortal evil spirits—i.e. demons—emerge from the slain Giants to continue their malevolent activity against humans (cf. *Jub.* 10:5). *1 En.* 15:10 states: "The dwelling of the spiritual beings of heaven is heaven; but the dwelling of the spirits of the earth, which are born upon the earth" (i.e. the Giants and the evil spirits that "have come out of their bodies"), is in the earth. These demons can cause both physical and spiritual illness by invading the human body, but angels like Belial, who are of a different category of being, are unable to affect the human body directly. As Alexander argues: "As an angel he [Belial] cannot be the direct cause of the illnesses envisaged in 11Q11, since an angel cannot penetrate the body of a human. That is possible only for a demon or an evil spirit" (" 'Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places'," 327–8). That Belial does not instigate this kind of demonic affliction seems to be indicated by the fact that in other apotropaic prayers and anti-demon texts of the Second Temple period we find lists of demons and evil spirits (e.g. 4Q230; 4Q444 1–4 i + 5 8; 4Q510 1 ii 4–8; 4Q511 1 i 6; 35 7), but Belial does appear. If this ontological difference between Belial and his demonic underlings is correct, it would render Puech's reconstruction implausible. The difficulty over the source of affliction in this psalm is eliminated if Belial is not reconstructed and we designate the subject of the verb בוא a demon, thus leaving בל[ה as the best reconstruction.

Puech's reconstruction notwithstanding, he is right to note that demonic attacks were not limited to the night time. LXX Ps 90:6b [MT 91] translates מקטב ישוד צהרים ("the plague that destroys the noon") as δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ ("midday demon"). Demons were often thought to be the cause of different midday maladies such as sunstroke and midday lethargy (see e.g. *1 En.* 69:12: sunstroke). For other examples of affliction caused by demons at noontime, see *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, s.v. "Midday Demon," 1072–3. Regarding midday, R. Strelan remarks that "as with most critical points in time or space, there was some ambiguity about midday in Greek and Roman literature. It was commonly considered a dangerous time, and malevolent or frightening powers were believed to be particularly active at that time." He further notes that shadowless (i.e. noon) times were sometimes understood as dangerous because demonic bodies do not cast shadow (R. Strelan, "Midday and Midnight in the Acts of the Apostles," in *"I Sowed Fruits into Hearts"* (Odes Sol. *17:13*)*: Festschrift for Professor Michael Lattke* (ed. P. Allen, M. Franzmann, and R. Strelan; Strathfield: St. Pauls, 2007], 190–3). See Josephus' description of an exorcism in *Ant.* 8.46–48 and various examples in the Gospels such as Mark 5:1–20, 9:14–29, all of which do not take place at night. It is worthwhile to mention, however, that in Mark 1:32 Jesus heals "that evening after sunset" all the sick and demon-possessed, although in this case the time reference likely refers to the end of the Sabbath.

[80] É. Puech, "Les Psaumes Davidiques," 165; See also Puech, "11QPsAp[a]: Un rituel d'exorcismes," 383.

The reference to the dreamlike appearance of the demon (and his horns)[81] in line 7 of this psalm reaffirms the connection between nighttime and demonic activity as demons were often held responsible for nightmares. One of the potential pitfalls of divine revelation through dreams was that it made one susceptible to various forms of demonic attack when asleep, including bad dreams.[82] This connection between sleep and demonic attack is further seen in another incantation found in 4Q560, which records an adjuration against male and female demons who could potentially attack someone during sleep (4Q560 1 i 5).[83] Much of this material is riddled with lacunae, but the reference to sleep and demonic attack is clear enough: את]ה בשנא פרכ דכר ופכית נקבתא מחתא (. . . est ven]u(e) pendant (le) sommeil un broyeur/une idole male, et la broyeuse/l'idole femelle, celle qui frappe . . .).[84]

Specialists in ancient demonology note that times of sleep create the perfect conditions for demonic attack because the sleeper is in a state of 'liminality,' neither conscious nor dead. This in-between-ness is what defines the demonic; as J. Z. Smith notes, it is "just outside the place where they properly belong (the hybrid, the deviant, the adjacent)."[85] This characteristic of in-between-ness can be seen in a variety of ways: demons

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[81] F. García Martínez writes that this may be the first allusion to 'horned' demons in, "Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (ed. J. N. Bremmer and J. Veenstra; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 25.

[82] See D. Penny and M. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 642–3.

[83] 4Q560 was initially published by Penny and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub." The document has since been published by Puech in DJD XXXVII, from which the transcription above is cited (in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–575, 580–582* [DJD XXXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998]).

[84] For a similar translation, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 1117; Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 168; Penny and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 642. Penny and Wise further reconstruct 1 i 5 by relying on later Aramaic incantational bowls published in C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), 11.10, 20.11. They reconstruct: אסיר לבהלה בליליא בחלמין או ביממ]ה בשנא פרכ דכר ופרכית נקבתא מחתורי ("and forbidden to disturb by night in dreams or by da]y in sleep, the male Shrine-spirit and the female Shrine-spirit, breacher demons (?) of . . .). This is an interesting proposal but its veracity is difficult to evaluate without any attestation of such a formula contemporary with 4Q560. Others have preferred to translate בשנא as "tooth" שן, in which case the text would refer to demons that cause toothache (cf. Tigchelaar, "Catalogue of Spirits," 140; J. Naveh, "Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book From Qumran," *IEJ* 48 [1998]: 257, 60). This is surely within the realm of possibility as both male and female demons enter the "flesh" (1 i 3). In Mark 9:18 we find an example where the grinding of teeth is seen as a sign of demonic possession. Given however the prominence of nocturnal demonic attack, the translation "sleep" is preferable.

[85] Smith, "Interpreting Demonic Powers," 425–39, esp. 429. See also Spaeth, "Terror that Comes in the Night," 238–9.

are often described with a type of corporeal hybridity, a mixture between humans and animals,[86] or human and otherworldly beings, or in a state between the life and death. In 11Q11 too, this type of hybridity is seen; the demon rebuked has horns (V 7), is considered to be 'a dream,' and is understood to be the offspring of man and "of the holy seed" (V 6), a likely reference to the fallen angels narrative and the *nephilim*.[87]

3.4. *4Q510–511: Were Prayers for Protection Routinized?*

There is nothing to indicate in the texts discussed above, i.e. Ps-Philo, *L.A.B.* 60:1–3, *Jubilees* 12, and 11Q11, that anti-demon prayers were recited at regular fixed times. The sectarian documents of the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, suggest that it was not implausible that the Qumran community's schedule of prayers included anti-demon texts that were routinely recited.[88] In the anti-demon text, *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q510–11), for example, we read the phrase, "And in my appointed periods I will recount your wonders" (63 ii 2–3: ובמועדי תעודותי אספרה נפלאותיכה), which likely refers to the Qumran community's calendar;[89] the phrase תרומת מזל שפתים in line 4 further suggests a context of ritualized prayer (for a discussion of the word תרומה and its association with prayer, see Chapter Four, note 36).

Since the Qumran community's own sense of anthropological and cosmic dualism was experienced daily with the coming of darkness and light, it is possible that even daily prayers had an apotropaic quality.[90] If the forces of darkness were equated to any extent with nighttime, continued vigilance would have been required. An example that demonstrates the importance of both prayer and vigilance at the approach of darkness can be found in the *Psalm of the Appointed Times* (1QS X 2) where evening prayer coincides with the beginning of the "watches of darkness" (אשמורי חושך).[91]

The community knew that a final judgment of evil had not yet occurred. As many Qumran texts demonstrate, Belial and his entourage still caused

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[86] Penny and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 643 n. 68.

[87] Otherwise called 'bastards' ממזרים (see, e.g., 1QH^{a} XXIV 26; 4Q444 1–4 i + 5 8; 4Q510 1 5; 4Q511 2 ii 3; 10 1; 35 7).

[88] If 4Q334 is situated within an anti-demon context, it could be considered evidence for fixed prayers against demons (see below).

[89] For a discussion of the word תעודה, see note 44 in Chapter Four.

[90] Alexander, " 'Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places', " 324, suggests that anti-demon texts such as 4Q510–511 could have been recited as a preventative against the "unremitting psychological warfare of Belial and his demonic cohorts" (n. 12).

[91] See a similar phrase in an evening prayer in 4Q503 33i+34 19: רוש ממשל ח̊]ושך.

spiritual and physical affliction and thus continual protection was still required.[92] That God's final judgment had not yet been doled out further underscored the impetus for regular apotropaic prayer. Indeed, for the Qumran community, it is probable that, because of the community's heightened sensitivity towards dualistic thinking and their inclination towards ritual practice,[93] they likely instituted regular apotropaic prayers, or at the very least, they understood their regular prayers to have such an effect.

4. Nocturnal Praise

The discussion in the previous section has demonstrated that in the Second Temple period night was often imagined as a time of increased susceptibility to demonic affliction, and that one possible aim of nocturnal prayer was to obtain protection or deliverance from one's celestial enemies. There are, however, tantalizing clues, particularly in the Dead Sea Scrolls, that prayer during the night was not limited to seeking protection and deliverance. It may have been understood that the same cosmological *Weltbild* contained choirs of worshipping angels who praised God throughout the night. The fact that these angels coalesced with the celestial luminaries gave earthly congregations a visual cue to time the performance of their blessings and prayers to be in unison with these angels.

4.1. *4Q503*

In Chapter Three we saw how 4Q503 combines astronomical terms with references to the angelic world, coordinating human and angelic praise. In the context of the present chapter, I will consider further the significance of the text's numerous allusions to night. While scholars typically argue that the pattern of daily times of prayer in 4Q503 was sunrise and sunset, these allusions to night may point to a practice in which prayers were said

[92] Cf. CD XII 2–6; XVI 4–6; 4Q286 (Ber[a]) 7 ii 1–12. See also 4Q434 (Barkhi Nafshi[a]) 1 i 10–12, a text which highlights the protection given to a Qumran community member: "He gave them ano[th]er heart, and they walked in (his) w[ay]. In the way of his heart he also brought them near because they pledged with their spirit. He sent and he fenced about [them] and he commanded [eve]ry plague not to [touch (them)]. *vacat* His angel encamped arou[nd] (them), he watched over them [ ] . . . lest [ ] . . . he destroy them [ ]their enemies [ ]." (trans. *DSSR* 5:127)

[93] Cf. R. Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual At Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131–52.

after the sun had set, under the lights of the heavenly luminaries, perhaps even at multiple times during the night.

We can first recall a number of the characteristics of 4Q503 already established in Chapter Three before discussing the possibility of a nocturnal worship setting:

1. Angels were associated with luminaries.
2. Humans and angels praise God in concert.
3. The timing of praise is indicated by astronomical phenomena in the heavens.

With respect to the timing of worship (#3), there are phrases in 4Q503 that suggest that while the daily schedule of prayers is timed according to the cycles of the luminaries, it is more complex than a simple twice daily prayer pattern of morning and evening, sunrise and sunset. Reference to nighttime, לילה, is surprisingly frequent, and the phrase בכול מועדי לילה, "in all appointed times of the night" occurs three times (33 i+34 21; 40 ii–41 3; 51–55 10).[94] From what we can gather from the bits and pieces of this document, this phrase occurs in the concluding blessing of the evening service: "Peace upon you Israel in all appointed times of the night" (cf. 33i + 34 21; 40 + 41 3; 51–55 10).

It is hard to make sense of the plural noun מועדי unless the text is indicating that there is *more than one* appointed time of the night. But for what? The concrete 'rubric of time' that we have for morning prayer ("when the sun rises") raises expectations of a similar rubric for evening prayer, in which case evening prayer would be connected concretely to sunset. Nothing of the sort, however, exists.[95] Instead, I would argue that the rather nonspecific use of ערב and לילה to describe prayer times indicates that evening/night prayer was not rigidly fixed to sunset as many scholars have suggested. That is, prayer during the "evening"/"night" was not coordinated according to the cycle of the sun, but rather the moon and stars.

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[94] We find references to night in other locations in 4Q503, although we cannot be sure of the intended meaning; that is, whether a distinction in the text is being made between ערב and לילה: 1–6 iii 7, 15, 19; 11 3; 18 1; 15–16 9; 29–32 4, 11, 19, 23; 33i +34 7, 19; 42–44 2, 5, 6; 48–50 5; 56 i-58 5; 61 2; 64 4, 5; 67 3; 76 3; 86 4; 136 2; 218 4.

[95] Although see 4Q503 33i+34 19 which may indicate a more concrete measure of time: רוש ממשל ח[ושד. The context in which we find the expression pertains to evening prayer, but it does not exclude the possibility that religious activity continued into the night "at all appointed times." See also note 99.

Further, the reason why evening prayer lacks a concrete rubric of time may have something to do with the community's desire to mimic the heavenly angels, who would have continually illuminated the skies throughout the night, not only at sunset. Given that the angels and the heavenly luminaries coalesce and that these luminaries would have continued to shine throughout the night,[96] and given that the community desired to mimic the angels, the phrase "at all appointed times of the night" could possibly refer to a prayer schedule that is more extensive than only sunrise and the sunset.

Moreover, it was not just in the timing of prayers that the Qumran community sought to emulate from their angelic counterpart; rather, as D. Dimant[97] has shown, the Qumranites sought wholly to become angelic-like by cultivating those qualities innate to angelic life, which included such attributes as sleeplessness, watching, perpetual praise, and illumination. Throughout Enochic literature, these angelic qualities are repeatedly emphasized, especially their ability to keep awake, which enables them to attend perpetually to the divine throne (*1 En.* 14:23; 39:12–13; 40:2; 61:12; 71:7; cf. also *2 En.* 17).[98]

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[96] See H. Drawnel, "Moon Computation in the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*," *RevQ* 23 (2007): 3–41. Drawnel argues that instead of measuring the incremental changes of light and darkness on the moon, the *Astronomical Book* measures hours of lunar visibility during the night (i.e. the length of time that the moon would shine during the night). This type of calculation was common in the ancient world. For a more general discussion see R. Hannah, *Time in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2009), 18–24.

[97] D. Dimant, "Men As Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. A. Berlin; Baltimore, MD: University Press of Maryland), 93–103; Dimant notes other angelic qualities the community sought to emulate, such as forming a covenant with God, adhering to special laws, offering bloodless sacrifices, existing in perfect purity, possessing divine wisdom and teaching (pp. 100–1).

[98] The non-corporeal nature of the heavenly angels allowed them to praise and watch continually without sleep. See also Mark 13:32–35; Matt 24:36–44. The references to angels in these passages implies their participation in the vigil. See also Rev 4:8 and 7:17, two verses in which angels are imagined to worship in the heavens continually through the day and night.

The desire to mimic the angels, including their ability to forego sleep, continues into the Late Antique period, particularly within monastic Christianity. E.g. Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.9 ("At night we ought to rise often and bless God. For blessed are they who watch for him, and so make themselves like the angels, whom we call 'watchers' "); see also *Strom.* 7.7, 7.12. Isaac of Nineveh understood Ps 6 to be a vigil psalm in *The Ascetical Homilies of Mar Isaac of Nineveh*. He writes: "Prayer offered up at night possesses a great power, more so than the prayer of daytime. Therefore all the righteous prayed during the night, while combating the heaviness of the body and the sweetness of sleep and repelling corporeal nature . . . And for every entreaty for which they urgently besought God, they armed themselves with the prayer of night vigil and at once they received their request." See, "Ascetical Homilies," in *The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian* (Brookline,

The interpretation of "at all appointed times of the night" (בכול מועדי לילה) as referring to additional times during the night is strengthened when we compare this phrase to other Dead Sea Scrolls texts.[99] As already discussed in Chapter Four, in 1QH[a] XX 9 we find a reference to prayer in the evening and mid-night (ברשית ממשלת חושך למועד לילה בתקופתו לפנות בוקר). Here, unlike 4Q503, מועד occurs in the singular only, which could indicate that while both 4Q503 and 1QH[a] imply that prayer took place at multiple times during the night, 4Q503 does so in a shortened form by writing מועד in the plural (מועדי לילה) whereas 1QH[a] has expanded upon this phrase, describing poetically the time of evening prayer in the singular as ברשית ממשלת חושך, and prayer at midnight as למועד לילה בתקופתו.

The possibility of this reading of 4Q503 is strengthened in view of other sectarian texts from Qumran, such as in 1QS VI 7–8. This text states that at night the community was engaged in reciting blessings, reading the book, and searching the law for "a third of each night of the year":

והרבים ישקדו[100] ביחד את שלישית כול לילות השנה לקרוא בספר ולדרוש משפט ולברך ביחד

MA: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1984), 3–385, esp. 372. See also the discussion in R. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy: A Study in Their Development in Syria and Palestine from the Qumran Texts to Ephrem the Syrian* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 200–1.

[99] Paul Heger argues that ערב is "clearly defined" as לילה (night), meaning that prayer was not to be recited before sundown. The purpose of Heger's argument is to distinguish times of prayer at Qumran from times of sacrifice (he cites as evidence frgs. 1–3 6–7; 29–32 2–4, 22–23; 33–35 i 18–19; 48–50 3–5; 51–55 6–10; 64 1–4; cf. P. Heger, "Did Prayer Replace Sacrifice at Qumran," *RevQ* 22 [2005]: 219). It is unclear, however, if evening and night were considered the same. In *Jub.* 2:2 for example, we find such a distinction between "day" and "night," and "morning" and "evening," which implies that both evening and night were considered two separate periods within the dominion of darkness and that dawn and daylight were considered two separate periods of light (4Q216 v 10: מאפלה ושחר ו[אור וערב). Perhaps this same understanding of the division of the night underlies 4Q503 33i + 34 19 where we find the phrase, והלילה לנו רוש ממשל ח̇[ושך] (") and tonight for us at the beginning of the dominion of da[rkness") as part of the evening blessing, which is then followed by the phrase "at all appointed times of the night" to signify further times during the night set aside for worship.

[100] Cf. C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1957), 43–4. He suggests that the word for vigil in this passage, שקד, is a technical term as in rabbinic literature. In the latter, he argues, שקד refers to study in the synagogue during the first night watch (the first 1/3 of the night). According to Rabin, *m. Sotah* 9.15 is typically translated, "When Ben Zaaai died, diligent students (השקדנים) came to an end," but should be translated with the same technical sense as in 1QS VI 7 (also cf. *y. Ned.* 8.3, 40d). For biblical occurrences of this word, see Ezra 8:29; Job 21:32; Ps 102:7; 127:1; Prov 8:34.

> And the Many shall be on watch together for a third of each night of the year in order to read the book, explain the regulation, and bless together. (*DSSSE*, 83)

The phrase שלישית כול לילות השנה is ambigious, but as Steven Fraade has noted, it likely refers to a third part of every night, perhaps one of the three daily night watches.[101] We can only speculate about which books were read and interpreted and which blessings were recited.[102] Recently, Collins, following Stegemann and then Regev,[103] has argued that 1QS VI 1–8 is part of the core legislation of the *Rule* (i.e. not an interpolation) that addresses the arrangement of the sectarian membership wherever

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[101] Cf. S. Fraade, "Interpretive Authority," 56–7. Shemesh has also suggested that this phrase refers to "one-third of each night—the first third—and not to a total of one-third of all the nights of the year." Cf. A. Shemesh, "The History of the Creation of Measurements: Between Qumran and the Mishnah," in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 7–9 January, 2003* (ed. S. Fraade, A. Shemesh, and R. Clements; STDJ 62; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 171. Shemesh interprets this phrase as such in light of R. Eliezer's injunction at *m. Ber.* 1.1 regarding the Shema (one is able to recite the Shema "until the end of the first watch," i.e. the first third of the night). The night was typically divided into either three or four periods according to the night-watch; however, there is no indication from this passage (1QS VI 7–8) that the Shema was recited, and in light of the discussion of segmented sleep earlier in this chapter, the second or third period of the night is equally possible.

For other texts that connect prayer with the nightwatch, see Barkhi Nafshi[d] (4Q437) 2 i 16 in which the hymnist, likely with Ps 63:7 in mind, states: "my soul cleaves after you; on your deeds will I meditate. I have remembered you on my couch, in the night watches (עי באשמרות יצו[על])." (Cf. also Ps 119:148: "My eyes are awake before each watch of the night, that I may meditate on your promise.") For a Babylonian example of the connection between nightwatch and revelation, see *LKA* 29d ii 1ff. cited in Reiner, *Astral Magic*, 16: "Let the three watches of the night speak to you."

[102] See note 27 in this chapter. R. Kugler has suggested that such texts as 4Q225 were produced by reading and the exegetical study of scripture (לקרוא בספר ולדרוש משפט) during these nocturnal vigils. R. Kugler, "Hearing 4Q225: A Case Study in Reconstructing the Religious Imagination of the Qumran Community," *DSD* 10 (2003): 81–103. For a discussion of possible psalms and prayers included in the setting described in 1QS VI 7–8, see E. Schuller, "Some Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical Texts Among the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January 2000* (ed. E. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 182–3.

[103] H. Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in the Late Second Temple Times," in vol. 1 of *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 83–166; E. Regev, "The *Yaḥad* and the *Damascus Covenant*: Structure, Organization and Relationship," *RevQ* 21 (2003): 233–62.

they may reside, whether at Qumran or any other geographical location.[104] According to Collins, 1QS VI 1–8 indicates that the sectarian community consisted of smaller "cells," all of whom were part of the *Yaḥad*. Thus, this text is not only clear evidence that noctural prayer was part of the daily routine of the community located at Qumran, but that other "cell" groups dispersed in various settlements kept the same daily prayer schedule.[105]

This reading coheres with what Josephus says about the Essenes ("they have no one city, but many settle in each city" [*J.W.* 2.124]). It is intriguing that in Slavonic *J.W.* 2.128 we find the following about the Essenes that is not present in the Greek text: "They do not rest much. They get up every night to sing God's praises and pray." The reference is often taken as a Christian interpolation, inserted by monks who translated the Greek text. Recently, however, É. Nodet has argued, referring to the custom recorded in 1QS VI 7–8, that Slavonic *J.W.* 2.128 is one of many so-called interpolations in Slavonic Josephus that have an unmistakable "Jewish flavor," and therefore preserves the original text.[106] But, even if Nodet is incorrect, 1QS VI 7–8 clearly and unambiguously provides testimony of the routine practice of nocturnal prayer within the daily schedule of the community.

4.2. *1QH^a XXV 30–33*

This psalm exhibits an apocalyptic cosmology also seen in the prayers for protection in the previous section, but instead is a psalm of praise, anticipating God's final judgment when the world will be rid of the fallen angels and evil spirits (XXIV 16, 26: ממזרים; XXV 6: רוחות רשעה). At 1QH^a

[104] J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); idem, "The Yaḥad and the 'Qumran Community,'" in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. C. Hempel and J. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81–96.

[105] S. Metso, however, has argued that this text reflects the earliest stages in the community's formation as sectarian movment, and that it was interpolated into 1QS as a "time-honored set of directives" (p. 227). The surrounding contect of 1QS V–VII, Metso argues, "seems to envision an Essene settlement considerably larger and more isolated . . ." (p. 228) like what we would envision to settle at the location of Qumran. Cf. S. Metso, "Whom Does the Term Yaḥad Identify?," 213–35. For further bibliography regarding the question of the formation of the Qumran community, see note 30 in the Introduction.

[106] See É. Nodet, "Jewish Features in the 'Slavonic' *War* of Josephus," in *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Amsterdam 2000* (ed. J. U. Kalms; Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 10; Münster: Lit Verlag, 2001), 126–7.

XXV 30–33 there is a reference to praising God from twilight onwards; unfortunately, the text breaks off precisely at this point:[107]

30 [ם ורננו]לֻ[ז]מְרָ
31 ולהלל לֻ[לאין השבת ואני יצר החמ]רָ כְדעתי
32 ספרתי בְעֻדָ[ת קדושיכה בהגדל והפלא לאל כיא את]ה אל
33 הדעות בְפִי [עוז מנשף ל]

30 [*m* they jubilate,] s[in]ging
31 and praising *l*[without ceasing. And as for me, a creature of cla]y, according to my knowledge
32 I have spoken in the congregat[ion of your holy ones, ascribing greatness and wonder to God for yo]u are God
33 of knowledge. With a [strong] voice [from twilight to].

A nocturnal setting of praise is clearly envisioned, specifically from the time of twilight onward (מנשף ל[). The use of the word נשף to describe the time of night when the heavens praise God is not unusual as we find examples of similar vocabulary in other texts (see below). Nonetheless, it is difficult to pinpoint the time that the phrase מנשף ל[denotes. The noun נשף is derived from the root √נשף, meaning "to blow," and refers to the time of the day when the cooling winds arise, either before sunrise or after sunset (cf., for example, 1 Sam 30:17; 2 Kgs 7:5–7; Job 3:9; 7:4; 24:15; Ps 119:147–148; Isa 5:11; Jer 13:16). There are a few instances where the meaning is ambiguous, such as in 1 Sam 30:17. Here the Greek translator of the Hebrew interpreted נשף as ἑωσφόρος ("dawn"),[108] while in the Vulgate נשף is interpreted as *vespers* ("evening twilight"). נשף is also interpretated as "evening twilight" in *b. Ber.* 3b.[109] In LXX Isa 59:10, however, נשף is translated as "midnight" (μεσονυκτίῳ), and is juxtaposed with midday (μεσημβρία/צהר), and in LXX Job 3:9, כוכבי נשפו is translated as τὰ ἄστρα

[107] Translation from DJD XL, 297 with slight modification. The underlined portions are restored from the parallel text 4QH^{b} 20 1–4. In 1QH^{a}, the psalm that begins at XXIII 1 continues to XXV 33 (cf. DJD XL, 278).

[108] In other locations, ἑωσφόρος is used to translate שחר (Ps 109:3; Job 41:10).

[109] Further on in *b. Ber.* 3b, the phrase "I rise (בנשף) and cry for help" in Ps 119:147 is interpreted as "midnight": "But did David rise at midnight? [Surely] he rose with the evening dusk? For it is written: "I rose with the נשף and cried . . ." But how did David know the exact time of midnight? . . . A harp was hanging above David's bed. As soon as midnight arrived, a north wind came and blew upon it and it played of itself. He arose immediately and studied the Torah until the break of dawn." The intention of this explanation is to harmonize David's previous statement in Ps 119:62, "at midnight I rose . . ." (הצות לילה אקום) with Ps 119:147 "I rose at twilight" (קדמתי בנשף), but as we have seen from the previous examples, the association of נשף with midnight, nighttime, and darkness is not unprecedented.

τῆς νυκτός ("the stars of the night"). These varying translations of נשף led B. Kedar-Kopfstein to conclude that נשף can denote either the period of time contiguous to nighttime, that is, the beginning of nightfall or the waning of night, or it can refer more generally to a time of darkness.[110]

Although the phrase at 1QH[a] XXV 33 is incomplete, the prepositions 'from' (*mem*) and 'to' (*lamed*; i.e. מנשף ל) indicate a span of time, the beginning of which is "from the time of darkness." Given the semantic range of נשף, one could possibly reconstruct מנשף לבוקר, "from twilight (i.e dawn) until morning," and since the context of this psalm is one of human-angelic worship, which often took place at sunrise, this reconstruction would be possible. In DJD XL (p. 290) we find the reconstruction מנשף לערב, "from twilight to evening," in which case the phrase would refer to the period beginning with dawn and lasting until evening, as in 1 Sam 30:17 ("From dawn to evening [מהנשף ועד הערב] David attacked them"), although as we noted above both the Vulgate and Babylonian Talmud interpreted נשף as evening/twilight in this passage.

It is also possible, however, to interpret נשף as "evening twilight," in which case the word would have to refer to the beginning of night after darkness had already fallen, like in Jer 13:16: "Give glory to the Lord, your God, before it grows dark, before your feet stumble on darkening (נשף) mountains." It is difficult to decide which interpretation is correct, but given that in the Hebrew Bible and later literature נשף most often refers to the twilight of evening or nighttime, this interpretation seems best in this passage too. Moreover, it is conceivable, perhaps even preferable, in light of the joint praise with angels, to reconstruct מנשף לנשף, signifying the two twilight periods of one day, in which case the period of time envisioned for praising God could have been the span of an entire night.

Despite the difficulties of the phrase מנשף ל[, the significance of this passage lies in the event that took place at the time מנשף ל], which is crying out in joy, singing, and praising together with angels. Various references, such as "to unite with the children of heaven" (XXIII 30), "to scatter them from the stations of the ho[ly ones" (XXV 4), "with the congregation of your holy ones" (XXV 5), and, "I recounted in the assem[bly of your holy ones" (XXV 32), indicate a context of joint human-angel worship. That the term נשף is used to describe

110 B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "*nešp*," *TDOT* 10:71. See also 2 Kg 7:5–7 (נשף=σκότος [darkness]); Jer 13:16; Job 3:9, 24:15; Isa 5:11; 21:4; 59:10; Prov 7:9; Ps 119:147–148.

the time of human-angelic worship also underlines the cosmological context.[111]

If a suggestion about the *Sitz im Leben* of 1QH[a] XXV 33 (and, by extension, *Apostrophe to Judah*) can be made, I posit the following: unlike such texts as 4Q503 and 4Q408, in which the reason for angelic praise is to bear witness to God's creation and/or glory, in 1QH[a] XXV 33 the reason for praise is the allotment of God's justice on the fallen angels. The context need not be of daily prayer, but rather a specific time when the Qumran community thought it was pertinent to remember and celebrate God's coming eschatological judgment. This could have taken place within a daily schedule but we cannot know.[112] Nevertheless, I want to suggest that this psalm, linked to eschatological judgment, may hint at praise at nighttime. The use of the term נשף is not incidental, but refers to the time of day when the stars and other celestial phenomena appear, a time that was also associated with angelic and demonic activity.

5. 4Q334: A Liturgy for Praise or Protection?

There is one other text, 4Q334, that clearly speaks to prayer in the night, although the setting in which it would have been used is difficult to determine; for this reason I have purposefully left 4Q334 for the end of this chapter. 4Q334 is extremely fragmentary, but it appears to be a liturgical calendar that lists different combinations of "songs" (שירות) and "words of praise" (דברי תשבוחות) to be recounted during the day (ביום) and night (בלילה).[113] It is clear that the combination of "songs" and "words of praise"

[111] Cf. also *Apostrophe to Judah* (4Q88) X 5–6, where the 'stars of twilight' praise God for the judgment of Belial: יהללו שמים וארץ יחד יהללו כל כוכבי נשף ("Let then the heavens and the earth give praise together, let all the stars of twilight give praise").

[112] We see in Mark 13:32–35 and Matt 24:36–44 that because the time when the present age will come to an end cannot be known (even the angels do not know), one must remain vigilant in the evening, at midnight, cockcrow, and dawn. Eschatological judgment is not mentioned in this passage but the motif is ubiquitous with the end of the age and would have been assumed. This passage may therefore allude to another context, in this case in early Christianity, of a daily nocturnal vigil. See also the episode of Paul and Silas' imprisonment in Acts 16. This episode invokes a vigil setting as both Paul and Silas were "praying and singing hymns" at midnight in the prison (v. 25), and further, were rescued by supernatural means.

[113] 4Q334 is one of the smallest scrolls found at Qumran measuring in height no more than 10 cm. Paleographic analysis of the script suggests that 4Q334 should be dated to roughly 30 BCE–20 CE. Cf. S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* (DJD XXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 167–94; G. Nebe, "Qumranica II: Zu unveröffentlichten Handschriften aus Höhle 4 von Qumran," *ZAH* 10 (1997): 135–8.

changes according to the day, and that "songs" and "words of praise" are two distinct genres. Moreover, unlike the calendarical texts at 1QS X 1–3 and 1QH[a] XX 7–14, which use the language of 'blessing' (1QS) or 'thanksgiving' and 'prayer' (1QH[a]), this scroll mentions only "songs" (שירות) and "words of praise" (דברי תשבוחות). The genres of 'songs' and 'words of praise' could involve either apotropaic prayer with the intent of protection against demons, or simply praise without these specific concerns.

The document does not contain any liturgical recitations or hint of theological reflection; it simply counts and correlates the number of "songs" and "words of praise" to be performed during the day and night over a period of days.[114] Although the text is extremely fragmentary, its highly formulaic language allows for some degree of reconstruction. The basic prescriptive formula is as follows:

On ordinal date *x*:

> In the night, *x* songs and *y* words of praise.
> In the day, *x* songs and *y* words of praise.

So, for example, with some reconstruction we are able to read in frgs. 1–2: "And on the eighth of it (ordinal date) at night (בלילה): eight songs and forty . . . words of praise. In the day *x* . . . *x* songs and sixteen words of praise." None of the recovered fragments list the number of songs for the day, and we do not have enough text to discern the relationship between the number of songs and the date of their performance. The number of songs (שירות) for the night seems to be eight, although the scroll is too

[114] We do not know the number of days listed in 4Q334, as the text simply refers to the number of "songs" and "words of praise" to be recited "in it" (בו). In other calendrical texts, such as 4Q317 (cryptA Lunisolar Calendar), בו refers to "month," although such a designation בו cannot be determined in 4Q334. Nebe ("Qumranica II") recently suggested that the counting of "words of praise" was set according to the thirty day lunar cycle that began with the new moon: On day one of the document, sixty "words of praise" were recited at night. This number decreased by two until zero "words of praise" were recited at the end of the month. The "words of praise" for the day, Nebe argued, were counted inverse to the night, so that at the beginning of the month zero "words of praise" were recited but the month ended with sixty "words of praise." This reconstruction was contested by Glessmer who argued that the lunar cycle began on day four with the full moon (DJD XXI, 179). J. Ben-Dov has recently followed Nebe's suggestion (*Head of All Years*, 139–40). I have not been able to follow both Nebe's and Ben-Dov's arguments because a cycle that begins with sixty "words of praise" for the night and decreases by increments of two each day until zero must take place over a span of thirty-one days, not thirty days as they propose (unless the cycle originally began with fifty-eight "words of praise" at night, or ended with two "words of praise" instead of zero).

fragmentary to be certain (cf. 3 1 [שירות ש]מונה ו[ד]ברי תשבו[חות] and 4 4 בלילה שירות שמונה[]).

5.1. *Genre and Setting*

In asking about the purpose of this document (for protection against demons or for praise), it is necessary to investigate the usage of the terms "songs" and "words of praise" in other contexts. E. Schuller has demonstrated that by the Second Temple period the designation "song" שיר was distinguished from "psalm" (תהלים) as a separate type of composition, often recited alongside sacrifices.[115] This is especially obvious in the colophon from 11QPs[a] XXVII 2–11 listing the compositions written by David: 3600 psalms (תהלים); 364 songs (שיר) for the tamid offerings (עלת התמיד), 52 songs for the Sabbaths, 30 songs for festivals, and 4 to play for those stricken (ושיר לנגן על הפגועים).[116]

The titles given to the compositions in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (שיר עולת בשבת) demonstrate that "songs" were connected to the Sabbath sacrificial service. These titles provide further evidence that "songs" and "words of praise" were two distinct genres. For example, the phrase "words of praise" occurs in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* as part of the angelic exaltations to God on the sixth and eighth Sabbath of the cycle (4Q403 1 i 3). The song for these Sabbaths lists the genre of psalm to be sung followed by the number of "words" corresponding to the stated genre: a Psalm of Praise (תהלה שבח) is to be sung to "the God of Powers seven times with seven words of wondrous praise" (דברי תשבוחות פלא).[117] This song also lists a Psalm of Exultation (תהלה רומם) which contains

[115] Cf. E. Schuller, "The Use of Biblical Terms as Designations for Non-Biblical Hymnic and Prayer Compositions," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 210–1.

[116] Regarding the last four songs of the list I accept the interpretation of the word פגועים as "stricken," and that these psalms are related to exorcising demons (cf. 1 Sam 16:14–23). Cf. Pajunen, "The Function of 11QPsAp[a] as a Ritual," 50–60; Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 93; Lange, "Essene Position," 380; Puech, "Les Psaumes Davidiques du Rituel D'exorcisme," 164–5. Others prefer to interpret פגועים as referring to the four intercalary days of the year, the solstices and equinoxes, separating the four seasons (90 days). Cf. J. Maier, "Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde," *RevQ* 14 (1989–90): 551–52; S. Talmon, "Extra-Canonical Hebrew Psalms," in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Essays* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 246–47; M. Chyutin, *The Role of the Solar and Lunar Calendars in the Redaction of the Psalms* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 369–70.

[117] For another example of a Psalm of Praise (תהלה בתשבחות), see Tob 13:1 (=4Q200 6 4).

"words of exaltations" (דברי רומי פלא), the Psalm of Rejoicing (תהלה רנן) contains "words of wondrous rejoicing" (דברי רנות), and a Psalm of Thanksgiving (תהלה הודות), which contains "words of thanksgiving" (דברי הדות). If we can infer from these examples in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* in which the genre of psalm (תהלה) correlates with the kinds of words used, it would seem that the "words of praise" referred to in 4Q334 are from a Psalm of Praise (תהלת שבח) that must be a composition distinct from "songs" in the document.

Because the term שיר is linked to compositions sung alongside sacrifice, G. Nebe argues that 4Q334 likely originated in temple circles—probably Levitical priests—who followed the solar-calendar, and that 4Q334 functioned as a cultic calendar for the performance of psalms sung alongside the daily sacrifices in the "morning and evening."[118] Falk likewise interprets the references to יום and לילה in 4Q334 as "morning" and "evening," but he adds that this "calendar is intended as a mystical description of daily angelic praise at sunrise and sunset to correspond to the heavenly sabbath praise represented in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*."[119] Thus, while still within a temple setting, Falk argues that the primary focus of 4Q334 is the praise of angels morning and evening.

There are a number of difficulties with both Nebe's and Falk's arguments. Firstly, the interpretation of יום and לילה as "morning" and "evening," which both Nebe and Falk espouse, assumes a daily prayer schedule—imported from other descriptions of daily prayer—that is not indicated in 4Q334. When morning and evening are cited as times of prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls specific rubrics not found in 4Q334 are always used to indicate this.[120] In 4Q503, for example, morning prayer is recited at the time "when the sun rises to shine upon the earth" (ובצאת השמש להאיר על הארץ) and evening prayer "in the evening" (ובערב); 1QS X 1–3, 1QH^a XX 7–9, and 1QM XIV 12 all use similar language to indicate morning and evening (see Chapter Three). In 4Q503 33–34 19 we also find the phrase "at the beginning of the dominion of darkness" (רוש ממשל ח̇[ושך) within one of the evening (ערב) prayers, suggesting that the time of evening was the beginning of this dominion. Indeed, the distinction between

[118] Nebe, "Qumranica II," 136–8. Because no "Qumranic background" is preserved in this scroll, Glessmer has also suggested a temple setting (DJD XXI, 189).

[119] Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 98.

[120] For the argument that prayer times must ultimately fit within a daily schedule comprised only of morning and evening, also see E. Chazon, "When Did They Pray?" 51.

"darkness" and "light," and "dawn" and "evening," found also in *Jub.* 2:2,[121] seems applicable here. This passage implies that both evening and night were considered two separate periods within the dominion of darkness, and that dawn and daylight were considered two distinct periods of light (4Q216 v 10: מאפלה ושחר ו[אור וערב]).[122] Thus, in 4Q334 it seems preferable to translate ביום and בלילה as "day" and "night," words referring generally to the two different periods of light and darkness within one daily cycle.[123] Moreover, because different quantities of prayers were to be recited during the day and night, 4Q334 demonstrates that the realms of day and night were understood to be two distinct periods within the daily cycle and that 'day' and 'night' are not a merism for singing 'at all times.'[124]

Secondly, Falk's argument that 4Q334 pertains to an angelic setting is possible but only if one avoids the times of sunrise and sunset, as there is little evidence from the Second Temple period that angelic worship took place in conjunction with sunset. We have clear evidence from such texts as 4Q503 and 4Q408 that angelic worship took place sometime in the evening, but this is in connection with the appearance of the luminaries *after* sunset.[125] The fact that in 4Q503 and 4Q408 we have a specific rubric of time for morning prayer but none for the evening suggests that the time of prayer in the evening could have varied.

Instead of the setting proposed by Nebe and Falk, I would argue that 4Q334 is more likely related to an apotropaic or healing ritual of some kind, as the terms "songs" and "words of praises" occur frequently in compositions concerned with demons.[126] Such a setting allows for the possibility that "songs" and "words of praise" were recited at various times during the periods of day and night, rather than simply "evening" and "morning," as both Nebe and Falk argue. Regarding the term שיר (song),

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[121] VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 8.

[122] In Ethiopic: "And (he created) the abysses and darkness—both evening and night—and light—both dawn and daylight—which he prepared in the knowledge of his heart." (*OTP* II, 55). See also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 8: "[There were also] the depths, darkness and light, dawn and evening." In Hebrew: "darkness, dawn, [light, and evening…" (Cf. DJD XIII, 16). See also note 99.

[123] Glessmer, DJD XXI translated לילה as "night" and יום as "day."

[124] See also references to worship day and night in Luke 2:37; 1 Thess 3:10; 1 Tim 5:5; 2 Tim 1:3. In the Hebrew Bible, see Josh 1:8; 1 Kgs 8:59; Neh 1:6; 1 Chr 9:33; Ps 1:2, 92:1–3.

[125] Cf. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 98–9. R. Arnold follows Falk's reading of 4Q334 in *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STJD 55; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 112, 119.

[126] Schuller, "The Use of Biblical Terms," 212ff.

the last set of four שירים mentioned in 11QPs[a] XXVII 2–11 are likely anti-demon compositions (see note 116). Another text, *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q510–511), a collection of hymns against demons, contains the following prescription for the Maskil, where again we find the term שיר: [למשכיל ש]יר שני לפחד מוֹראיוֹ; "[For the Maskil]: the second [so]ng to frighten those who terrify him[" (4Q511 8 4).[127]

The word תשבוחה also appears frequently in texts concerned with demons. See, for example, the title of a composition in the *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q510 1 1): תשבוחות [למשכיל שיר]; the hymnist of the apotropaic hymn *Plea For Deliverance* (11Q5 XIX 16) glorifies God: "You O Lord, are my praise" (שבח); the anti-demon text 6Q18 8 2 includes the words, בתשבוחות ע[ולמים ("with eternal praises"). Although too late for our purposes, we also find the designation שיר תשבחות within Aramaic incantations.[128] If indeed the compositions listed in 4Q334 are concerned with demons, their recital "day" and "night" (rather than specifically morning and evening) would be entirely appropriate.[129]

Because the argument of an apotropaic setting for 4Q334 cannot be established with certainty, we must examine other settings in which "songs" and "words of praise" were employed. One example where these same words appear repeatedly is in festival settings, particularly Sukkot.[130] Philo, for example, speaks of "songs and words of praise" (ᾠδαῖς καί λόγοις γεραίρουσι) performed during this festival. He writes that the people, upon remembering good things of their life, honor God with "songs and words of praise" and "beseech Him and propitiate Him with supplications that they may never repeat the experience of such evils" (*Spec. Laws* 2.209,

[127] We also see in rabbinic literature and formulae from Aramaic incantation bowls that the term שיר was designated for compositions concerned with demons. Psalm 91, for example, was often labeled as a שיר concerned with demons (*b. Šeb.* 15b; *y. Erub.* 26c).

[128] J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985), 50–51; See also J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum," *Le Muséon* 105 (1992): 5–24, ll. 22–23: "Say a song of praise (שיר תשבחות) for the noble King [. . .] the mighty one, who created the spirits [. . .] Ame[n] Hallelujah."

[129] Glessmer too notes that doxological praise (i.e. תשבוחה) found in *Song of the Maskil* (4Q510–511), *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400–407), and *Berakhot* (4Q286 1 ii 5) may indicate a continuation of a tradition into the Late Antique period (e.g. *m. Sukkah* 5.4) in which "men of deed" would recite words of praise (תשבוחה) to "exorcise the powers of evil and darkness" (DJD XXI, 188).

[130] While this festival setting is not one of protection from demonic affliction, the Sukkot festival does carry a central message of protection and deliverance. That these themes occur in settings of praise further highlights the close relationship between prayers for protection and prayers for praise.

LCL). In *Flacc.* 122, Philo describes again a nocturnal setting for Sukkot reminiscent of *Spec. Laws* 2.209. (The arrest of Flaccus coincided with this festival, making it difficult to determine if the hymns and prayers were part of the nocturnal festival celebrations or in response to Flaccum's imprisonment.) He states: "All night long they continued to sing hymns and songs of praise (ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς) and at dawn pouring out through the gates, they made their way to the parts of the beach near at hand, since their meeting-houses had been taken from them, and standing in the most open space, cried aloud . . ."[131] A similar phrase occurs in *m. Sukkah* 5.4 in which "pious men and wonder workers" would dance on the first night of the festival and after receiving the candlelight from the priests would say "words of songs and praises" during Sukkot (דברי שירות ותשבחות).[132]

One extremely fragmentary text in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 4Q433a (4QpapHodayot-like Text B), contains "songs" (שירותיו קודש; 4Q433a 1 4), and further describes "praises in the mouths of mighty men" (ותשבוחות בפי עצו]ם; 4Q433a 1 6). In the five lines in this fragment we have vocabulary of 'returning' (בשיבתו), 'new wine' (תורוש), and 'rejoicing' (ישמח), all of which would fit well in a festival setting.[133] Indeed, the vocabulary in 4Q433a conveys a similar "feel" to the description of the Sukkot festival in *m. Sukkah* 5.4 as both texts describe the singing of songs and praises, not by priests or cultic personal, but "pious men and wonder workers" (חסידים ואנשי מעשה). In the Qumran community too, it was the *maskilim* that sang the community's songs and words of praise (at least if we understand the rubric ל+משכיל to be directed to the Maskil to recite the song; cf. 1QH^{a} XX 7; 1QSb I 1; III 22; V 20; 4Q400 1 i 1; 4Q511 2 i 1; 8 4).[134]

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131 Philo, *Against Flaccus* (trans. F. Colson; LCL 363; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 369. Philo records the words of the hymn sung in the morning on the beach. Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo*, 172, suggests that Philo may have modeled this hymn on Exod 15 because of a number of parallel characteristics, namely, both hymns were sung after rescue from danger, both are hymns of praise (*odes*), and both were sung on the 'beach.'

132 See also Wis 18:9 which records that already on the very first night of Passover, the "holy children of good men offered sacrifices," and were "singing the praises of the fathers."

133 As Schuller notes, 4Q433a 2 contains a fable (משל) about a vineyard just like the composition (also labeled a שירה) at Isa 5:1. Cf. E. Chazon et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 241.

134 While it is best not to adhere to rigid categories, it does seem that *maskilim* are not priests in charge of cultic sacrifice. In Chronicles *maskilim* are associated with the Levities and their liturgical duties, but generally *maskilim* seem removed from the cultic altar. For further discussion, see C. Hempel, "*Maskil*(*im*) and *Rabbim*: From Daniel to Qumran,"

An early example of nocturnal singing on Sukkot may be found in the psalms. In Ps 134, clearly a night song, we read, "Come, bless the Lord, all you servants of the Lord who stand in the house of the Lord through the long hours of night." The scant details within the psalm do not indicate explicitly the setting, but as Leslie Allen and others, have suggested, this psalm may have been recited during Sukkot. Perhaps Isa 30:29 indirectly corroborates such a claim, as this verse speaks of night songs: "You will sing as on a night when a feast is observed."[135] Ps 42:9 may also be pertinent: "at night a song (שירה) is with me." Commentators often emend שירה to שירו to create a parallel with the previous stanza (thus translating, "at night his song (שירה) is with me"), but in light of the connection of the feminine שירה to nighttime in 4Q334, שירה may be preferred.[136]

The fact that the "songs" in 4Q334, like in *m. Sukkah*, are feminine (שירה) gives further weight to the suggestion that 4Q334 prescribes "songs and words of praise" for use in a festival setting. That these songs are referred to as שירה contrasts with שיר, the designation for "songs" usually sung alongside temple sacrifices (and found in the biblical Psalter),[137] and adds further difficulty to Nebe's suggestion that 4Q334 was recited alongside sacrifices. The question of whether the gender of "songs" indicates different types of songs and different settings is difficult, but as James Kugel has noted, songs labeled שירה (as opposed to שיר) are found *outside* the Psalter in various historical narratives throughout the Hebrew Bible—e.g. Exod 15, Deut 32, Num 21:17, 2 Sam 22:1—and that it is these songs that were often grouped together in various post-biblical lists, such as the one in Mekhilta *Shirata* 1 (at Exod 15:1).[138] The redactors of Mekhilta recognized that שירה are compositions found outside the Psalter, but observed further that these are songs of past deliverance (e.g. Exod 15:1; Num 21:17; 2 Sam 22:1; Ps 18:1). This explanation certainly

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in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. C. Hempel and J. Lieu; JSJSupp 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 132–56.

135 Cf. L. Allen, *Psalms 101–150* (WBC 21; Waco, TX: Word, 1983), 218.

136 E.g. P. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* (WBC 19; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983), 324; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 436–7.

137 There is one instance, in Amos 8:3, in which temple songs are in the feminine, ("The songs of the temple shall become wailings in that day") although there is no indication that these songs were for sacrifice.

138 J. Kugel, "Is There But One Song?" *Biblica* 63 (1982): 329–42, esp. 335. See also the discussion of odes in R. Brucker, "Observations on the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Septuagint Psalms," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (ed. W. Kraus and R. Wooden; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 359, n. 18.

fits well within the context of the Sukkot festival, which commemorates Israel's deliverance from Egypt and coming to the Promised Land.[139]

The custom of singing שירות at festivals is also demonstrated in a number of Greek sources where festival songs are labeled as *odes*/ᾠδή (שירה=ᾠδή).[140] In both *Spec. Laws* 2.209 and *Flacc.* 122, Philo refers to the songs sung at Sukkot as *odes*;[141] in *Ant.* 2.346, Josephus too describes Moses' song as an *ode*, and while he does not name a particular festival in this passage, such a settings seems to be envisioned as he writes that after the Israelites saw how God had punished their enemies, "they spent the entire night in songs and amusements" (see note 139).

Thus, if we are right to place significance in the feminine form שירה, it is likely that 4Q334 lists "songs" and "words of praise" not included in the biblical Psalter.[142] It is possible therefore that 4Q334 attests to the same tradition found in Mekhilta of organizing and distinguishing types of songs based on the gender of the term שיר\שירה. This suggestion is especially intriguing as the number of שירות both in rabbinic lists and in 4Q334 remained quite small. In the Mekhilta the redactor understood that the first nine songs in his list were songs of past deliverance, hence feminine (the last song in the list, Isa 42:10 ["Sing to the Lord a new song"] "will be

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[139] In Josephus, *Ant.* 2.346, after the Israelites saw how God had punished their enemies, "they spent the entire night in songs and amusements" (trans. Feldman, 2000). That same night Moses composed his famous song (Exod 15:1), which Josephus describes as an *ode*. Philo mentions in his *Contempl. Life* 87 that the Therapeutae celebrate the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt at the end of a fifty-day cycle by holding an all-night vigil (παννυχίδα) that included singing and dancing. For an example of a song that was sung during the day, see Ps-Philo's rewriting of Deborah's song (*L.A.B.* 31:9), in which Deborah implores, "Wait you hours of the day!" (trans. Jacobson) so as to finish her song before nightfall.

[140] The connection between *odes* and שירה can be made via the Septuagint, where ᾠδή was used consistently to translate שירה. See Exod 15:1; Deut 31:19, 21, 30; 32:44; 2 Sam 22:1; Ps 18:1. This translational tradition seems to have continued into the Late Antique period; In the Christian East, for example, שירה was translated as "ode" and the in West, "canticle." Cf. Kugel, "Is There But One Song?" For other lists of 'odes' in early Christianity see H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum," *Bib* 30 (1949): 50–3.

[141] While Josephus refers to the song of Moses as an *ode* (*Ant.* 2.346), he does not seem to be concerned with making any distinction between songs authored by Moses or David (the author of the Psalter), as they both write 'odes' and 'hymns' (*Ant.* 2.345; 4.302; *Ant.* 7.305). Josephus may, however, distinguished songs composed by Moses in other ways as he states that mosaic compositions were written in hexameter (*Ant.* 2.345, 4.302), and that the songs written by David were composed in trimester and pentameter (*Ant.* 7.305).

[142] Perhaps we should have in mind some of the prayers and hymns collected by E. Schuller in "Prayers and Psalms in the Pre-Maccabean Period," *DSD* 13 (2006): 306–18, esp. 314–6, especially since many of these prayers are psalms are found outside collections of biblical psalms, such as 4Q160; 4Q213a; 4Q371–372; 4Q380–381; 4Q392–393; 4Q434–438; 4Q460.

recited in the future");[143] in 4Q334 there are two cases where the number eight has been preserved with reference to feminine songs. Might these to texts refer to a similar list of songs? We might add an additional side note. In light of the Christian practice of distinguishing the psalms of the Psalter and biblical "odes," Kugel raises the following question: "If Christianity adopted the liturgical rending of biblical odes—as distinct from Psalms—from some Jewish practice, what was that Jewish practice, and why is there so little present-day evidence to substantiate its existence?"[144] Admittedly this is a difficult question, but perhaps 4Q334 is a small piece of evidence demonstrating that such distinctions were made already in the Second Temple period.

There are probably multiple settings in which collections of "songs" (שירה) found outside the Psalter would have been performed during the day and night. Yet, the frequent occurrence of these terms in festival settings in which singing continued through the night is suggestive.[145] Moreover, in these festival settings, "songs" (שירה) were sung by spiritual leaders of the community, not professional singers or cultic personal associated with the temple (*m. Sukkah* 5.4: "pious men and wonder workers"; 4Q433a 1 6: "mighty men"; Wis 18:9: "holy children of good men offered sacrifices" and were "singing the praises of the fathers". All of these observations demonstrate the possibility of a non-temple setting for 4Q334 (contrary to the arguments of Nebe and Falk).

To summarize: we have explored two possible settings—apotropaic and festival—for 4Q334 and presented the (inconclusive) evidence for each. What is most important to remember about 4Q334 is that the times for worship that are listed in this text should not be limited to a setting of "morning" and "evening." Rather, 4Q334 attests to worship during the day *and* night, and provides another glimpse into the diversity of worship practices in the Second Temple period.

6. Conclusions

I began this chapter with observations from anthropology and ancient texts that suggest that nocturnal activity, including worship, was a regular occurrence in the ancient world. I went on to argue that nighttime prayer

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[143] J. Lauterbach, *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* (2d ed.; Philadelphia: JPS, 2004), 2:172.

[144] Kugel, "One Song?" 337–8.

[145] In addition to שירה, תשבוחה is also connected to festival settings, as the word appears in 4Q286 1 ii 5, a text used in a ceremony of blessings on Pentecost.

in the Second Temple period developed out of a deeply ingrained cosmology that originated in ancient Mesopotamia, in which it was believed that celestial deities manifested themselves as luminaries in the skies above and that the world below was subject to the powers of these deities dwelling in the heavens. The adoption and adaptation of this *Weltbild* into the apocalyptic ferment that developed in the Second Temple period fostered the development of nocturnal prayers of protection against demons and praise alongside angels.

Nocturnal worship, however, was not limited to an apocalyptic milieu. The Psalms demonstrate that there was a longstanding tradition of nocturnal lament in response to physical calamity. Even when this tradition was carried forward into the Second Temple period and adapted to deal with the threat of demonic powers, we find that the threat of such afflictions was not limited to apocalyptic circles. Further, there seems to be some context for nocturnal worship during festivals, particularly Sukkot.

Yet, many of the examples of nocturnal prayer cited above are from the sectarian manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls or from texts with a close affiliation. In these, the association between angels and demons, light and darkness is immediately tangible, and the protection from Belial and his demonic entourage seems to be a major concern, perhaps even warranting a fixed schedule of apotropaic prayer at night. Night was also the time humans worship together with angels as they appear in the night skies. A number of sectarian texts—1QS VI 6–7, IX 26b–X 8a, 1QH^{a} XX 7–14, and 4Q334—clearly demonstrate that the Qumran community participated in regular nocturnal prayer and in this chapter I have argued, although with less certainty, that 4Q503, 4Q510–511, and 1QH^{a} XXV 30–33 should be considered as further evidence of this practice.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has explored the origins of fixed daily prayer by paying particular attention to the underlying processes and strategies that allowed for the establishment of set times for prayer. In the Second Temple period the custom of daily prayer was promoted as an important religious practice. To affirm the importance of fixed daily prayer, a variety of strategies were developed to legitimize the custom—to explain how one ought to pray and why daily prayer was necessary. I have found three different patterns of daily prayer related to these strategies: 1) in some cases daily prayer was coordinated with, and made analogous to, daily cultic sacrifice, 2) in other cases, daily prayer was legitimized by identifying the origins of the practice in sacred scripture, either through the exegesis of Deut 6:7, or, in the case of *Ant.* 4.212, by imagining Moses as the exemplar of the tradition. When Deut 6:7 was invoked, daily prayer was connected to sleeping and rising within one's daily routine in the household. Lastly, 3) in some contexts daily prayer was coordinated with the daily cycles of the heavenly luminaries.

I investigated the first pattern, prayer and daily sacrifice, in Chapter One, where I concluded that the prayers said alongside sacrifice were, except in the case of daily Levitical psalmody, spontaneous in nature, and that prayer in this context was always subordinate to sacrifice. Nevertheless, prayers were often performed at the established times of daily sacrifice because of the widely held belief in the efficacy of sacrifice. If one wished to pray with maximum effect, it was best to pray at the time of the daily sacrifices. Yet prayer as a fixed daily practice was neither required nor encouraged formally by priests as a requisite to be recited alongside daily sacrifices. One implication of these findings is that while spontaneous or circumstantial prayers were often recited in conjunction with sacrifices, the temple cult, at least while it was still in operation, had less of an influence on the development of fixed daily prayer than some scholars suggest. In the Late Antique period, after reflection on the loss of the temple cult, we do witness a formal attempt in rabbinic literature to establish an analogy between prayer and sacrifice—one in which prayer actually becomes sacrifice (see, e.g. *b. Ber.* 26b). That this analogy was conceived and articulated after the temple was destroyed in 70 CE seems likely because the fixed daily prayer pattern in rabbinic Judaism included

prayer three times daily, whereas temple sacrifice took place only twice daily. In the Second Temple period, however, there were other influences unrelated to sacrifice operative in the early stages of the development of fixed daily prayer—scriptural exegesis, and also a particular understanding of cosmos and luminary cycles—that provided a foundation for fixed daily prayer to develop.

In Chapter Two I demonstrated that in the Second Temple period we find a number of attempts to legitimize fixed daily prayer by rooting the practice in sacred scripture, either by interpreting a particular passage to be prescriptive for this custom, or by situating it within a historical narrative. When scripture is used to explain daily prayer, Deut 6:7 is usually cited as a prooftext: "Recite them to your children and talk about them when you are at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you rise." Such texts as *Let. Aris.* §158–160 and Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212 interpret this verse not as a reference to saying and repeating scripture to one's children, but as evidence that one ought to turn to God in meditation and thanksgiving at set hours in one's daily routine—in the evening when one lies down, and in the morning when one rises. In addition, Josephus highlights the importance of daily prayer by demonstrating that Moses was the exemplar of the custom—just as Moses gave thanks in the morning and evening for the divine favor bestowed upon Israel during the Exodus, so should his fellow Jews.

I included in Chapter Two a discussion of 1QS X 10–14, not only because it is commonly interpreted as a reference to the Qumran community's daily prayer practices, but also because it includes an allusion to Deut 6:7, which, in its present context, could have been used as a prooftext for the daily recitation of prayer. I argued, however, that the allusions to Deut 6:7 and the other temporal phrases in this passage are too general to describe a custom of daily prayer. This argument is further strengthened in light of Chapter Three where I argued that for the Qumran community, the strategy employed in fixing a pattern of daily prayer was to correlate prayer with the daily cycle of the luminaries. For this community, it seems that daily prayer had cosmic justification and the timing of the custom did not require a scriptural prooftext. Finally, because Deut 6:7 is an important verse for the Shema liturgy, it is possible that *Let. Aris.* and Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212 could refer indirectly to the Shema liturgy; I argue, however, that these texts do not.

The third pattern on which daily prayers were based is the daily cycles of the heavenly luminaries. Praying at the time of sunrise or sunset is certainly not an exclusivist or sectarian practice, yet it is in the Qumran sectarian manuscripts (or at the very least, texts that exhibit the 364-day

calendar) where we see the most explicit attempts to set daily prayer according to the cycles of the heavenly luminaries. Like the pattern of prayer based on Deut 6:7, there is nothing in the daily prayers or in the descriptions of daily prayer to indicate that cultic sacrifice influenced the establishment of this pattern.

Instead, I argue that there were two underlying factors that led to the development of praying according to the movement of the luminaries: 1) This pattern grew out of a desire to live harmoniously within God's created order. These texts espouse a perspective that the divinely ordered heavens were a kind of 'cosmic' clock that provided an easily observable system according to which worship could be organized. 2) The desire to live harmoniously within God's created order further promoted the coordination of prayer and worship with heavenly angels. This was reinforced through a *Weltbild* in which the angels were understood to coalesce with the stars in the heavens and their movements. The ability to commune with angels was a major impetus fueling the Qumran religious system and we see that the rhetoric of the Qumran sectarian texts was such that this pattern of daily prayer fostered and reaffirmed this system. Mirroring angelic worship also provided an alternative to the cultic worship of the Jerusalem temple because blood sacrifices did not take place in the courts of the heavenly temple.

In Chapter Four, I turned to examine how one of these patterns of daily prayer, prayer based on the cycle of the luminaries, was adapted within the life of the religious community that settled at Qumran. I argue that, in addition to the usual diurnal pattern of prayer at sunrise and sunset, the Qumran community increased their ritual prayer times to include prayer at midnight and midday (cf. 1QS X 15 and Josephus' *J.W.* 2.128–132). This fourfold pattern of prayer, sunrise, midday, evening, and midnight is a distinguishing feature of the community's system of worship. I argue that this pattern is laid out in the poetic calendar at 1QS IX 26b–X 8a and 1QH^{a} XX 7–14, a calendar that was adopted from a non-liturgical context and redacted as an aggregate list of prayer times. The Qumran community's propensity for ritual worship no doubt contributed to the increase in fixed daily times of prayer.

In Chapter Five I argue that the *Weltbild* operative in the third pattern of daily prayer—stars and other astronomical phenomena as manifestations of cosmic entities—provided the impetus for the development of nocturnal prayer. Nighttime was when one ought to pray to affect, or be affected by, these entities. Broadly, within the general milieu of Second Temple period Judaism, nocturnal prayer may not have been routinized

to any great extent, although interest in the drama of the cosmological stage is most prevalent in apocalypticism. Two types of prayers resulted from this theological *Tendenz*: prayers for protection against malignant forces and prayers of praise with the heavenly angels. In the particular case of the Qumran community, descriptions of the community's worship practices in 1QS VI 6–7, 1QS IX 26b–X 8a, 1QH^a XX 7–14, and 4Q334 indicate that the Qumran community participated in regular nocturnal prayer. In addition, I also argued that 4Q503, 4Q510–511, and 1QH^a XXV 30–33 should be considered as further evidence of this practice, although of these texts I am less certain.

That we find different attempts in the Second Temple period to legitimize daily prayer through creating analogies and etiologies—a process often referred to as "naturalization"—indicates that the custom had achieved prominence and that a need had emerged in the Second Temple period to explain its origins and importance. While the times of daily prayer in the three patterns just summarized might appear to be similar, each pattern assumes a different strategy of legitimization. The analogy between prayer and sacrifice, the use of sacred scripture as a prooftext for daily prayer, the intentional coordination of daily prayer with the daily cycle of the heavenly luminaries, all imply something different about how the universe was conceived and how one could interact with the divine.

It is possible, therefore, that the different strategies that I described in Chapters One through Three can give us some insight into the different social and geographical settings in the Second Temple period where daily prayer was recited. For example, in Chapter Two, both *Let. Aris.* §158–160 and Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212 coordinate the timing of daily prayer with one's daily schedule within the household. The schedule of the daily cultic services in Jerusalem (or any other cultic center) plays no role in explaining the timing or importance of daily prayer in this chapter. Instead, finding a prooftext within scripture to legitimize daily prayer coincides with a more general interest in interpreting scripture that began to flourish during the Second Temple period.

Further, it may not be a coincidence that the two texts that rely on scripture to explain daily prayer were written in Greek in the Diaspora, far from Jerusalem and the confines of the temple, where the cultic '*imaginaire*' had less of an impact on daily religious life. Recognizing that the household was an important place for daily prayer may give further traction to the hypothesis that daily prayer did not take place in the Diaspora synagogue, despite the synagogue's common title, *proseuche* ("house of prayer"), at this time. Perhaps in public gatherings when Torah was read,

such as on the Sabbath and at festivals, prayers took place in the synagogue, but in the Diaspora prayer on a daily basis seems to have remained a private activity until centuries later when rabbis gained enough power to legislate its daily communal recitation. In the Second Temple period, while both *Let. Aris.* and Josephus imply that all Jews should pray daily, the custom does not require the participation of a congregation in a set location; this type of daily prayer emerged only in certain communities where we see a higher degree of ritual expression, such as the Qumran community.

The pattern described in Chapter Three, prayer based on the cycles of the luminaries, is more apt for a daily prayer pattern in which prayers are said communally; the movements of the luminaries are constant and predictable; the cosmic scale of the calendar would make the pattern easy to follow by a community. Further, praying according to the divinely established order of the cosmos has a rich symbolism on which to draw, and it is easy to see why the sectarian Qumran community adopted this pattern for daily prayer. Some of the community's concerns, the struggle between good and evil, light and darkness (e.g. 1Q27 1 5), the inalterability of God's divine law of time (e.g. CD III 14–16; XVI 2; 1QS I 8–9), and worship together with celestial angels (e.g. 1QH^{a} XIX 14–17), could be dramatized on a daily basis by following a daily prayer pattern that was organized by cycles of heavenly luminaries.

Thus, in the Second Temple period, we are at a stage when fixed daily prayer may remain within a private setting (e.g. *Let. Aris.* §158–160, Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212), or it may reach a level that requires a communal gathering in one place, such as we find in the Qumran community. The themes and words of the prayers recited in these two respective settings further reflect the nature of private and public worship. Public prayer at Qumran is fully fixed; the words have been written down and the times have been established according to a pattern that the group could follow easily. Private prayer within the household, as evinced by *Let. Aris.* and Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212 is more fluid. The author of *Let. Aris.* seems to envision a range of texts upon which to meditate and approach God. Josephus speaks of daily prayer as thanksgiving at set times, thus fixing the genre and/or purpose of daily prayer but not necessarily the exact words or formulae. The times for fixed prayer in a private setting are somewhat fluid as they depend on one's daily routine and sleeping pattern.

The evidence for daily prayer practices in the Second Temple period is found in the subtleties of a literary narrative or the small details of a prayer text. When we do find daily prayer texts and descriptions of daily

prayer, they often resist easy classification and categorization. I have argued, however, that through a careful synchronic analysis of the available evidence these problems can be offset, and that a picture emerges in which fixed daily prayer was part of the vibrant and diverse expression of religious practice and belief in the Second Temple period.

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